DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 411 170 SO 026 733

TITLE	Ethics and the American Community: Focus on Campaigns & Elections.
INSTITUTION	Drake Univ., Des Moines, IA. Iowa Center for Law and Civic Education.
SPONS AGENCY	Department of Education, Washington, DC. Office of Law-Related Education.
PUB DATE	1994-00-00
NOTE	257p.
CONTRACT	S123A10003-93
PUB TYPE	Guides - Non-Classroom (055)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Advertising; Citizenship Education; Cultural Pluralism; *Elections; *Ethics; Fund Raising; High Schools; Justice; Law Related Education; Mass Media; Moral Values; *Political Campaigns; *Politics; Privacy; Social Studies
IDENTIFIERS	Electoral College

ABSTRACT

This collection of lesson materials for high school teachers and students focuses on the study of ethics and values that underlie the political process in the United States. The collection is meant to encourage teachers and students to examine the value conflicts that frequently appear in the electoral process and stimulate student thinking about ethical considerations in campaigns for public office. The lessons are designed to supplement courses in the social studies. The first part of the guide provides an overview of the program, strategies for studying ethics and politics in the United States, and learning outcomes. The rest of the guide is divided into six sections: (1) "Introducing Ethical Issues Thru the Study of Campaigns and Elections"; (2) "Selecting the President: What do we want in a President?"; (3) "Campaign Images and the Role of the Media"; (4) "Campaign Issues and Controversies"; (5) "Ethical Dilemmas in Electoral History"; and, (6) "Campaign and Electoral Reform." (TSV)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 411 170

Ethics
&
the American Community:

Focus on Campaigns & Elections

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND
DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL
HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

John P. Wheeler

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

Iowa Center for Law & Civic Education
Drake University
1994

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

---

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

SO 026 733

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Ethics and the American Community: Focus on Campaigns & Elections

Iowa Center for Law & Civic Education
Drake University
1994

Introduction & Acknowledgments

This collection of lessons and materials for high school teachers and students focuses on the study of ethics and values in our American political process. The purpose of this collection is to encourage teachers and students to examine the value conflicts that frequently appear in our electoral process, and stimulate student thinking about ethical considerations in campaigns for public office.

The lessons are designed to supplement high school courses in the social studies. Teachers are free to make student copies of the materials for their classes.

Thanks go to Lois Santi, Randi Donaldson, and Jennifer Rice for help with the research and clerical support. We also thank the many teachers who have inspired much of the work included in this collection.

The lessons in this collection were developed by John Wheeler, Educational Programs Coordinator, at the Iowa Center for Law & Civic Education, Drake Law School. Thanks go to John for his hard work and creativity during this special three year project. His dedication to teaching young people about law and government is an example of how excellence in education can be achieved through enthusiasm, ingenuity, and a motivation to learn.

Timothy Buzzell, Ph.D.
Center for Law & Civic Education
Drake Law School

This publication is made possible by a grant for the U.S. Department of Education, Law-Related Education Program (grant S123A10003-93). For more information contact the Iowa Center for Law & Civic Education, Opperman Hall, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa 50311 (515-271-3205).

Ethics and the American Community: Focus on Campaigns & Elections

Table of Contents

Introduction & Acknowledgments

Overview: Ethics and the American Community
Curriculum Strategies for Studying Ethics and Politics in America:
    Focus on Campaigns and Elections
Learning Outcomes

Section I - Introducing Ethical Issues Thru the Study of Campaigns & Elections

Section II - Selecting the President: What Do We Want in a President?

Section III - Campaign Images & the Role of the Media

Section IV - Campaign Issues & Controversies

Section V - Ethical Dilemmas in Electoral History

Section VI - Campaign & Election Reform

"Ethics" and the American Community

Ethics refers to a set of value constructs used to determine appropriate or inappropriate behavior for members of a specified community. Ethical issues arise out of the interplay within and between the values that community holds. A community may take any number of forms. For example, the medical and legal professions each constitute a community in terms of establishing ethical standards of practice. Similarly, an individual classroom which sets out specific behavioral guidelines for its members may be considered a community. In a larger sense, the United States as a whole is a community whose members are citizens. As such there are certain expectations of conduct based on the community's values.

Some of these expectations are expressed through laws and other regulations. But "ethics" goes beyond a simple determination of legal or illegal acts. Certainly "rule of law" is one value of our society. Equality, Liberty, and Privacy are also important societal values that may or may not be represented by legal conflict. Legal or not the potential conflict between Liberty and Privacy is an ethical concern. Similarly, within the concept of Equality there is an inherent conflict between equality of opportunity and equality of condition; thus raising an ethical issue. Ethics, then, in its broadest sense, focuses on those points at which certain values conflict and how these conflicts can be analyzed, debated, and focused into responsible social action.

Considering the United States as a political community raises an important issue. In order to fit the definition, a certain shared set of values or beliefs must exist. In a country of such enormous size and such diversity of cultures and political and social beliefs, is there a core set of values guiding the national community? As a practical matter, the answer is clearly "no". But as an abstract matter, common values arise.

The Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal called these shared abstract values the "American Creed." He maintained that the Creed was the cement that held the United States together as a nation. Americans, he found, hold dearly to a common set of beliefs; but that these beliefs do not necessarily manifest themselves in similar ways in everyday life. For example, while all Americans might believe in the ideal of responsibility, in real life, different people interpret the exact nature of responsibility in a variety of ways. Some see responsibility as an individual value, while others define it as a social obligation. A third group may look upon responsibility as the relationship between the government and its people. It is evident that conflict will arise over these contrary definitions.

Other philosophers, political scientists, and educators have tried to identify those exact values or beliefs that comprise the "American Creed". R. Freeman Butts, for example, has identified commonly held beliefs in what he terms the "12 Tables of Civism". The twelve basic civic values (Justice, Equality, Authority, Participation, Truth, Patriotism, Freedom, Diversity, Privacy, Due Process, Property, and Human Rights) can be divided into two distinct categories: "Unum" values represent the obligations of citizenship, while "Pluribus" values are the rights of citizenship. As described, the values are in constant conflict with one another. The attempt to resolve these conflicts represent "ethical" questions.

The philosopher and educator Mortimor Adler looks upon the shared set of beliefs a little differently. Rather than identify a list of core values, he instead points to an "American Testament". The Testament, much like its religious usage, is a collection of cherished, purely American documents which espouse the basics of a national character. Within these sacred papers (Adler identifies the Declaration of Independence, the Preamble to the Constitution, and the Gettysburg Address) can be found the truths of American political society. Much like the disagreements which exist between religious denominations, different people may interpret these values in different ways. The appearance of disagreements in interpretations, however, does not challenge the existence of the shared beliefs. Thus, when the Declaration of Independence states that "all men are created equal", "equality" represents a national value. This does not lessen the effect that two people may define equality in radically different ways.

Each basic democratic value identified, whether in Myrdal's "American Creed", Butts' "12 Tables of Civism", or Adler's "American Testament", is an end in itself in our society. Each, by itself, serves as an ideal to be sought. But taken as a whole, the basic values conflict with one another by their very nature. It is impossible to have complete Equality and still maintain Diversity, for example. Similarly, the ideals of Freedom and Justice, in their extreme forms, are at odds with one another. The inherent conflict among basic American beliefs means that our society cannot ever fully attain all its goals at any one time. In fact, as we move toward full attainment of one ideal, we inevitably must compromise another. The challenge -- the Ethical Dilemma -- is to try to come up with a blend of conflicting basic values which achieves the optimal outcome for our society. To complicate matters even further, each American citizen derives his or her ideal blend of values independently. How then does American society reconcile more than 200 million competing visions? This question provides the primary focus for this curriculum.

In our society, politics is the arena in which these competing visions are played out. Political campaigns and elections allow citizens periodic opportunities to sort through basic value conflicts and express certain general preferences, directions, and beliefs. Politics represents the formal process by which individuals and groups present their visions for society; their ideas of the preferred blend of values. Political campaigns are competitions over opposing notions of what is best for society and in what direction the nation ought to be heading. The events, issues, and images surrounding the campaign and election process are ripe with value conflicts and ethical questions. By examining these in depth in the context in which they are most overt, students may come away with a better understanding of the dilemmas posed by democratic concepts in other aspects of society as well. In a very real sense, political campaigns and elections provide a real life laboratory for teaching about ethics, choices, and the difficult job of citizenship.

Curriculum Strategies for Studying Ethics and Politics in America: Focus on Campaigns & Elections

The lessons, strategies, and materials included in this collection are designed to allow students an in-depth investigation of value conflicts and ethical issues related to campaigns and elections. Each activity combines an interactive learning approach with reflective analysis and decision-making opportunities. The collection is divided into sections focused on specific aspects of the campaign and election process. A brief description of activities follows.

Section I: Introducing Ethical Issues in the Study of Campaigns & Elections

Political cartoons present an introduction to selected ethical issues arising throughout the campaign and election process. The cartoons by *The Des Moines Register's* Brian Duffy are accompanied by discussion and thought questions for teacher presentations and a cartoon analysis framework for student use in considering the issues raised.

Section II: Selecting the President: What Do We Want in a President?

What is it that Americans seek in a President? This section combines activities focusing on candidate biographies, stump speeches, and the qualities and characteristics typically sought by voters.

Constitutional Requirements/Public Demands - Article II sets forth the constitutional requirements of the Office of President. Powers are specified and in some cases limited. Yet, polls suggest that public demands on the presidency might in fact challenge constitutionally established principles. Students will study Article II and react to traits often listed in describing an "ideal" president.

Candidate Biographies - Students research candidate background looking for insight into the person's potential presidential ability. These biographies will be compared to ideal characteristics generated in advance and rank-ordered by the students. Groups of students will prepare written evaluations of the candidates and present to class for whole group consideration.

Stump Speeches - Students critique candidate speeches, identifying key characteristics of these addresses - style, image portrayed, promises made, policy proposals, etc. Comparisons are made between candidates to show similarities and differences in speech elements. Groups of students will write and deliver their own stump speech on behalf of a particular candidate (real or hypothetical).

Presidential Character - The Presidency of the United States is a unique democratic combination of head of state and head of government. Do citizens elect a president on the basis of a person's "kingly" qualities or on that person's capacity as a policy-maker? Students will review the works of political scientists, journalists, philosophers, etc. and attempt to generate their own analysis of presidential character.

Section III: Campaign Images & the Role of the Media

This section encourages the investigation of televised campaign images and the role of the media in reporting on campaign information.

Political Advertisements - Students are introduced to the skills of critical viewing and apply a framework of analysis to political advertisements of presidential candidates. Student evaluation of broadcast spots include not only the overt verbal message relayed but also visual and aural devices used by candidates to deliver messages. In an age increasingly dominated by the visual medium, students must be equipped with the skills necessary to decode and understand the messages.

Reporting Campaigns & Elections - Students interview political journalists (broadcast or print) for views on the coverage of candidates. Students investigate the role of the media in reporting candidate background. Students consider the responsibilities of the political news media and the concept of privacy.

Section IV: Campaign Issues and Controversies

This section addresses substantive issues of philosophy and fairness. Through examination of party platforms, students are able to better understand different formulas for "blending" societal values. Analysis of court cases allow an opportunity to grapple with legal and ethical issues head on.

Political Party Platforms - The party platform represents the basic beliefs and policy of a given political organization. Students examine recent platforms to compare positions on issues of interest. Platforms from earlier in the century will be reviewed, so that students may analyze position changes over time. How well do platforms express basic philosophical differences? What values are evident in each party's policy statements?

Legal Issues - Students review and study major cases decided by the Supreme Court and Federal Courts of Appeal relating to a variety of campaign and election issues. Topics include residency requirements, delegate selection, campaign literature, write-in voting, candidate fees, term limits, ballot access, redistricting, reapportionment, and campaign contributions.

Section V: Ethical Dilemmas in Electoral History

This section incorporates a historical perspective into the consideration of a campaign and election ethical framework. This aspect of the project seeks to address the following questions: What lessons may be learned from the past? How have our experiences informed current campaign and election processes? How has American society sought to redress past injustices and/or inequalities regarding the political process? The curriculum in this part of the program is structured in the form of historical episodes which pose ethical dilemmas for students to study, discuss, and analyze. The episodes illustrate past and continuing conflict over basic democratic values.

Section VI: Campaign and Election Reform and the Future

This final section asks students to review the processes effecting the way politics are carried out in our society with regards to key democratic values and to suggest alternatives for reform. Students are given the opportunity to shape policy based on ethical considerations.

Presidential Nomination Process - Reform - Many political scientists and campaign experts have proposed alternatives to the current system of selecting presidential candidates. A number of these proposals are capsulated and presented to students for their consideration and review. Groups of students will prepare and present their own suggested alterations to the class.

Counting the Votes for President - A number of options have been proposed as alternatives to the Electoral College method of electing the president. Students review four of these plans, consider the benefits and costs of each with reference to issues of justice, equality, etc. Students will be asked to select the best of these proposals or to devise a plan of their own.

Electronic Democracy - How will emerging technologies effect the way that politics are conducted in the United States? In this exercise, students review 6 technological innovations to analyze the impact that they may have on the campaign and election process.

The Campaigns & Elections Curriculum

The Campaigns & Elections curriculum program developed by the Iowa Center for Law & Civic Education uses numerous strategies designed to promote greater student analysis of ethical issues in our society using American politics as a particular focus. Certain key democratic value constructs naturally lend themselves to the campaign and election focus and to critical analysis. The concepts and their significance to the Campaigns & Elections program are described below. Within this framework of democratic values, students may examine when and how conflicts arise out of the campaign and election process.

Key Democratic Concepts Related to Campaigns & Elections

AUTHORITY: ("... government of the people, by the people, for the people...")

A value concerning what rules or people should be obeyed and the consequences for disobedience. In the United States, final authority rests with the people. Voters must decide with whom they will entrust political decision-making power. Who will represent their views to the rest of society and to the rest of the world? What are the limits of political authority?

DIVERSITY: ("We the People of the United States ...")

A value concerning the heterogeneous nature of the citizenry and the resultant contribution to society. One of the common observations about the United States is that, unlike many other countries in the world, it is a society of diverse individuals and groups. This notion of diversity extends to political viewpoints as well. A basic premise of our pluralistic political system is that out of the cacophony of voices may come better reasoned policy. How well is the diversity of American society represented by major political parties and candidates? How do candidates attempt to show divergent viewpoints? Does America as a society truly tolerate diverse political views?

EQUALITY: ("...dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal...")

A value concerning whether people should be treated in the same way. Throughout our history, Americans have regarded the concept of equality as one of their fundamental values. A debate frequently arises out of the definition of equality. No matter whether "equality of opportunity" or "equality of condition" is the operative definition, it is agreed that political systems should show no favoritism toward any one individual or group.

JUSTICE: ("... to Establish Justice...")

A value concerning the idea of fairness and the criteria and principles used to determine distribution, procedure, and corrective measures. The concept of justice is vast and complex. Justice is the beacon towards which American society aspires. Yet few within society have looked at the practical nature and application of justice. How fair are the processes and institutions in American society? Are resources distributed in the most just way? Is it possible to correct past injustices? Is the system by which we choose our leaders fair? What has been done to try to correct past procedural unfairness?

LIBERTY: ("... secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity...")

A value concerning what freedoms people should have and the limits that may justifiably be placed on them. Free Expression, Free Choice ... As an ideal, liberty is valued perhaps more than any other concept. It encompasses the rights and freedoms of the people and establishes strict prohibitions against governmental interference. As a practical matter, however, liberty often must be restrained in deference to the common good. Questions of basic liberty arise in campaigns and elections over issues such as freedom of speech and freedom of the press. For example, do campaign contributions constitute speech? To what extent may journalists have access to the candidates private lives?

PARTICIPATION: ("Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed...")

A value concerning the extent and nature of citizen involvement in community. The most casual description of democracy is that it is government by the people: self-governance by citizens who participate in decision-making by various modes of direct influence or by choosing those who will make decisions in their name and with their consent. By definition, then, without participation democracy will fail. What are some of the opportunities and restrictions on political participation? What factors enter into a candidate's decision to seek the nomination? May political parties limit participation by a candidate? by voters?

PRIVACY: ("The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects...")

A value concerning the moral, physical, and psychological need to be left alone. The right to privacy may or may not be a constitutional guarantee. Whatever the case, Americans continually balance a desire for privacy with the demands of public or community life. At what point do our actions quit being private and enter the public realm? Does this point vary depending upon our position in society? When a person becomes a candidate for high public office, how much of her/his privacy must s/he sacrifice? Does a candidate's private life affect public performance of duties? What is the role of the media in reporting the background of candidates? Does the issue of privacy affect a potential candidate's decision to seek office?

PROMISE-MAKING/KEEPING: ("... we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our Sacred Honor.")

A value concerning the nature of duties that arise when promises are made. The old adage maintains that "A man is only as good as his word." Honesty and truthfulness are important political values. Our system of government depends upon the people making choices and determinations based upon the information they receive. If this information is false, or cannot be relied upon in its totality, the people lose their faith in government. How should voters judge the campaign promises made by candidates? Must politicians be completely honest about their intentions - even if these are unpopular, but deemed necessary? How does the new brand of "image-making" affect promises that candidates make?

RESPONSIBILITY: ("... it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new guards for their future security.")

A value concerning a citizen's duty to one's self and to one's community. Responsibility is hardly a concept which evokes excitement. It is a weighty, yet vitally necessary, component in our society. Questions continually arise over who is responsible? for what? to whom? Individuals within society have a responsibility to the community at large. Similarly, political institutions and the people who comprise them have a responsibility to individuals and the common good.

CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS CURRICULUM
Learning Outcomes

As a result of the activities, strategies, and materials contained in this collection, students will:

Knowledge

Gain knowledge and better understanding of:

- the American political processes related to campaigns and elections;
- substantive issues facing candidates seeking public office;
- diverse viewpoints and recommendations for reform;
- the nature of ethical dilemmas (how they arise and how they may be resolved); and
- the values that shape the American political community and combine to represent the American Creed.

Skills

Develop and practice vital skills in the areas of:

- critical thinking (including analysis, evaluation, and synthesis);
- written and oral advocacy;
- information processing and research;
- cooperative decision-making (including compromise and conflict resolution); and
- ethical analysis (making decisions among competing values).

Dispositions

Foster a greater appreciation of and a desire to partake in:

- the rights and responsibilities of effective citizenship;
- intra- and inter-personal discussions of ethical concerns; and
- the exercise of ethical decision-making (making values-based choices).

Ethics and the American Community Curriculum Matrix

	Authority	Diversity	Equality	Justice	Liberty	Participation	Privacy	Promise	Responsibility
Section I									
Cartoons	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Section II									
Biographies	X	X				X	X	X	
Speeches	X	X						X	X
Pres. Character	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Section III									
Political Ads	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Reporting			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Section IV									
Platform	X	X	X	X	X			X	X
Legal Cases	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Section V									
History	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Section VI									
Nom. Reform	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Electoral Reform	X	X	X	X	X	X			X
Elec. Democracy	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

SECTION I

INTRODUCING ETHICAL ISSUES THRU THE STUDY OF CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS

INTRODUCING ETHICAL ISSUES THRU THE STUDY OF CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS

Pictures have long served as an effective form of communication. Paintings, drawings, photographs, and caricatures are able to express a potent non-verbal message through a simple scene created on canvass or paper. Through the use of easily recognizable symbols, the artist is able to convey a message about a particular person, place, issue, or event to a wide audience.

Political cartoons, as simplified, interpretative pictures, can be used as a powerful tool to meet a wide range of educational objectives:

Knowledge Objectives

- Political cartoons involve the presentation of conflicting ideas and complex issues, they can be used as a vehicle to analyze, interpret, and evaluate historical and current events.

- The political cartoon is an important tool in shaping public opinion. It is a form of news commentary that illustrates what its creator believes is good or bad about the news. Cartoons, then, provide an excellent opportunity for teaching about the uses of propaganda and editorial bias.

- Cartoons provide a powerful visual means of dealing with complex political, social, and economic issues. They may be used successfully to generate discussion and help to develop and clarify ideas.

Skill Objectives

- Students need to develop information-processing skills to analyze and think about historical and contemporary data. The use of political cartoons in the classroom promotes students' independent thinking skills.

- The use of cartoons in the classroom helps to develop skills in recognizing visual symbols, interpreting these symbols and the message they convey, and evaluating the point-of-view expressed.

- Having students create their own cartoons further encourages application of content and divergent thinking.

Used either as a tool to achieve a variety of knowledge objectives, or as a means of promoting critical thinking, analysis, and evaluation skills, cartoons serve as an alternative to verbal instruction. The use of political cartoons is a stimulating and exciting technique to motivate students without minimizing or ignoring content. Below are just a few ideas for using cartoons in your classroom:

- ***Bulletin Boards*** - Encourage students to find cartoons on various themes, such as foreign policy, elections, etc.

- ***Captioning*** - Provide various political cartoons with captions removed. As an evaluation of understanding of current events and the recognition of symbols, students provide their own captions to accompany the pictures. Compare these with the caption used by the artist.

- ***Comparison*** - Have students gather a wide variety of cartoons focusing on the same topic or personality. How do the cartoonists' points of view differ?

- ***Draw*** - Students create their own political cartoons reflecting their viewpoints on issues of current interest. Or, students try to depict an opposing viewpoint to a cartoon seen/studied.

- ***Issues Research*** - Small groups of students research a particular issue and locate and analyze cartoons on this topic.

- ***Write*** - A project involving written interpretation and analysis of political cartoons combines thinking and analytical/persuasive writing skills and increases the level of concept comprehension.

Political Cartoons and Ethical Questions

Each of the cartoons included in this section may be used to foster discussion of key issues in political campaigns and elections. The following questions are provided as guides for student examination of the topics brought up by the cartoons.

I. Press Dog

The press is the watchdog of American politics, delivering the important news to voters. But what constitutes "news"? Is it fair for voters to blame the media for campaign sleaze or are they merely the bearers of bad tidings?

II. Media Microscope

What is the proper role of the media in covering presidential campaigns? If we accept the investigative role of the press, don't they have an obligation to dig for background information? Do candidates for high public office maintain any expectation of privacy or by declaring their candidacies do they open themselves up to intense scrutiny?

The first two cartoons deal with the proper role of the media in reporting and covering political campaigns. In the last two Presidential elections, the press has come under criticism for a number of reasons. Some critics think that the media goes too far in reporting the details of candidates' personal lives. Others, however, believe that the press does not go far enough, and merely publishes whatever candidates and their staffs want. What are the ***responsibilities*** *of the press? the candidates? the public? Is it the role of the press to uncover the* ***truth****? Do candidates maintain a right to* ***privacy****? How might media restriction affect* ***freedom*** *of the press?*

III. Poll Whiplash

Tracking polls remained volatile throughout the 1992 campaign. The unpredictability not only led to pollster frustration but raised questions about the reliability of the poll data itself. Were people really changing their minds as frequently as poll seem to indicate?

IV. Three-Headed Horse

"Horse-race" journalism with a new twist. The early Iowa opinion polls in 1988 found three front-runners: Missouri Rep. Dick Gephardt, Illinois Sen. Paul Simon, and Massachusetts Gov. Mike Dukakis. Because of the perceived closeness of the race, these candidates received the bulk of attention, to the exclusion of other candidates.

Public opinion poll results play a large part in campaign strategy. But reliance on polls tends to play up the race aspect of political campaigns, making issues and policy debate secondary. Moreover, once front-runners have been established by early poll results, trailing candidates find it harder to get their messages across to voters. In the early stages of the campaign, poll results are extremely volatile. How ***truthful*** *and reliable are political opinion polls? Should all candidates be covered* ***equally****, regardless of poll results? Does a prime emphasis on the "horse race" lessen the discussion and consideration of* ***diverse*** *viewpoints?*

V. Presidential Airlines

Early in 1991, more than a year before the first caucus and primary, incumbent President Bush seemed unbeatable. Fresh off tremendous success leading a coalition through the Gulf War, Bush's popularity ratings were at all time highs. Faced with the prospect of massive electoral defeat, few Democrats were interested in seeking the nomination.

Political success depends, to a great extent, on the other candidates. In particular, who chooses to seek the nomination and who doesn't is a key factor in the process. How ***just*** *is a process that requires a decision to run or not more than a year before the first selection event? Even if President Bush's popularity had remained high, does the opposition party have an obligation to provide* ***diverse*** *policy alternatives? What factors influence a potential candidate's decision to* ***participate****?*

VI. Harry Truman

Each election candidates attempt to compare themselves favorably to past successful politicians. It just so happened in 1992 that both President Bush and Governor Clinton chose Harry Truman as the icon.

Issues of character have become major factors in the selection of presidential candidates, and ultimately the selection of a President. What can voters gain by comparing candidates with past figures of ***authority****? How* ***truthful*** *are the comparisons made by candidates attempting to tie themselves to past glory? Do more voters* ***participate*** *on the basis of this type of campaign rhetoric?*

VII. TV Attack

By the end of the 1992 campaign, the sheer number of political advertisements, debates, talk show appearances, and news reports of the candidates had many voters screaming for mercy.

Since the 1952 campaign, presidential hopefuls have used television to get their messages across to voters. The combination of sight and sound has appealed to the public like no other medium. In 1992, candidates became regular guests on daytime talk shows, late night entertainment programs, and even MTV. Has the effort to get more people to ***participate*** *in the process gone too far? The use of television to air political commercials has increased the influence of money in the campaign. Many have proposed* ***equalizing*** *candidate time on the air. Does this proposal violate* ***liberties****?*

VIII. Grave Issues

IX. Mud

Somehow it seems that in every modern campaign the issues are sacrificed for less lofty discussions. Even the presence of a viable third-party candidate did little to upgrade the level of debate.

On the one hand, voters indicate that they do not like the level of campaigns conducted by the major parties during the past few elections. Yet, on the other hand, polling research indicates that voters respond to mud slinging and negative campaigning. Do candidates have a ***responsibility*** *to conduct a higher level of campaigns? In a down-and-dirty campaign, who referees the* ***truth****? What can campaign* ***participants*** *(candidates, staff, media, voters) do to upgrade the level of political discussion and debate?*

About the Cartoonist:

Brian Duffy is the daily editorial cartoonist for The Des Moines Register. A collection of his work, *A Decade of Duffy's*, was published in 1994 by Iowa State University Press.

INTRODUCING ETHICAL ISSUES THRU THE STUDY OF CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS

"I don't care so much what the papers write about me - my constituents can't read: but damn it, they can see the pictures!"

Boss Tweed's reaction to a barrage of cartoons produced by America's premier cartoonist, Thomas Nast, is a testament to the power of this form of communication. Nast's cartoons, along with articles in the *New York Times*, resulted in the downfall of Tweed's New York City Tammany Hall political machine. Probably no cartoonist in this country's history has had the influence of Nast. Still, the political cartoon plays an important role in focusing editorial comment and directing public opinion. It remains a humorous check on the abuses of government and the injustices of society.

A cartoon is basically an interpretative picture that makes use of symbolism and humorous exaggeration to present a point of view about people events, or situations. The cartoon conveys its message quickly and generally gets its point across to more people than do editorials or in-depth news analysis pieces. Exemplifying the old adage that a picture is worth a thousand words, the cartoon uses easily recognizable symbols to communicate non-verbally to a wide audience. The act of "reading" a cartoon does not take the same time commitment as does the reading of a description of the picture's content. Therefore, even a cursory glance at the daily newspaper often will include "reading" the editorial cartoon.

To be effective as a form of political communication, a cartoon obviously must be witty or humorous; but it must not be drawn merely for its comic effect. The cartoon must have a basis in truth. The characters must be recognizable to viewers and, although biased, the point of the drawing must be related to a current situation or event.

In addition to their entertainment and editorial value, cartoons may also serve an educational purpose. On one level, they inform - focusing attention on issues and processes perhaps little understood. On another level, they engage - requiring a measure of interpretation and analysis in order to "get" the message. On a third level, they challenge - posing dilemmas to readers and offering opportunities to question.

The cartoons included in this section all deal with issues involved in the Presidential campaign and election process. They may help to inform, engage, and challenge students in their examination of ethical issues and value conflicts.

CARTOON ANALYSIS

	VISUALS	**WORDS** *(Not all cartoons include words)*
LEVEL I	1. List the objects/people you see in the cartoon.	1. Identify the cartoon caption and/or title. 2. Locate words or phrases used by the cartoonist to identify objects or people within the cartoon. 3. Record any important dates or numbers that appear.
LEVEL II	2. Which of the objects on your list are symbols? 3. What do you think each of the symbols means?	4. Which words/phrases in the cartoon appear to be most significant? Why?

LEVEL III

A. Describe the action taking place in the cartoon.

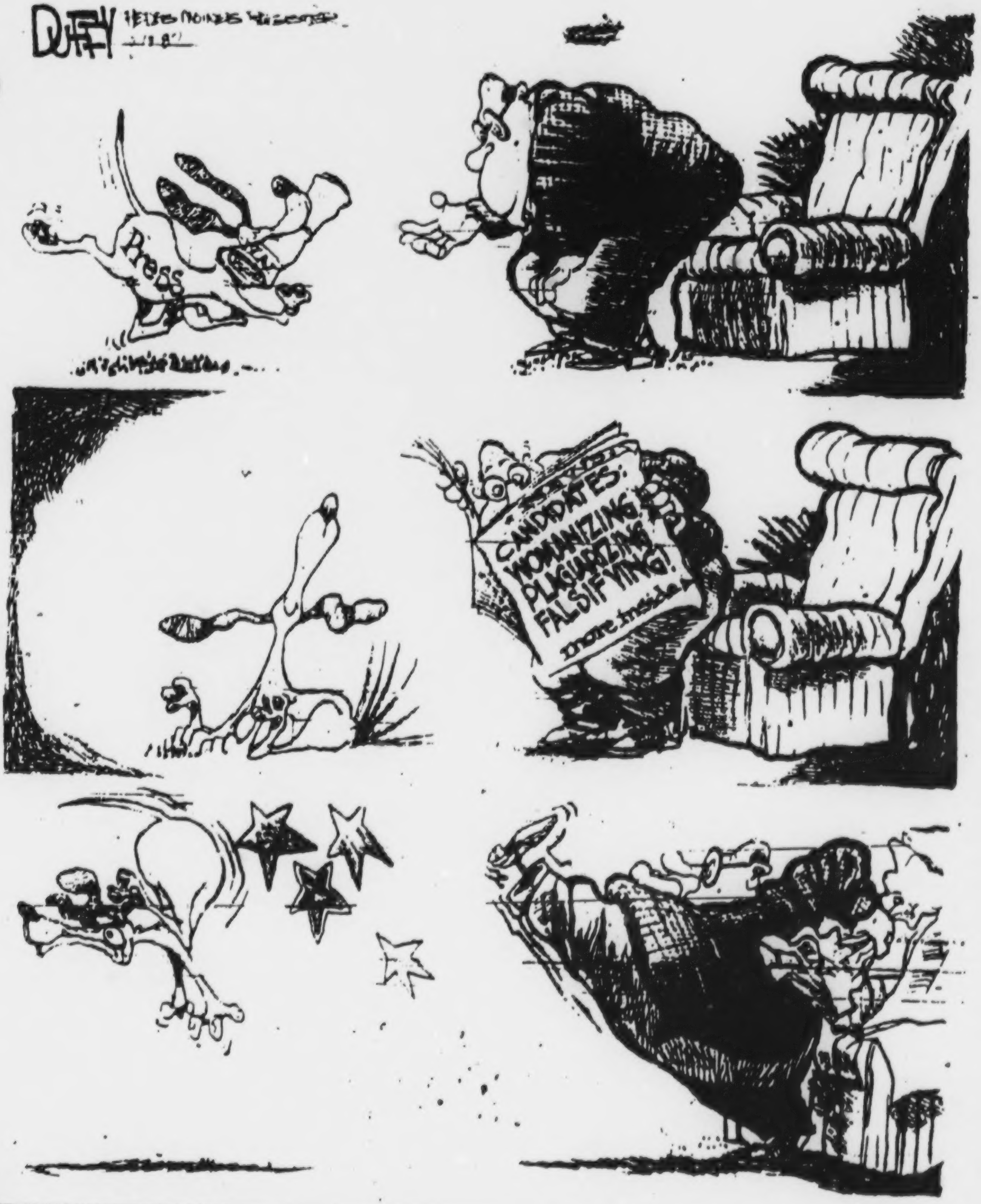
B. What is the social, political, or economic issue involved?

C. In your words, explain the message of the cartoon.

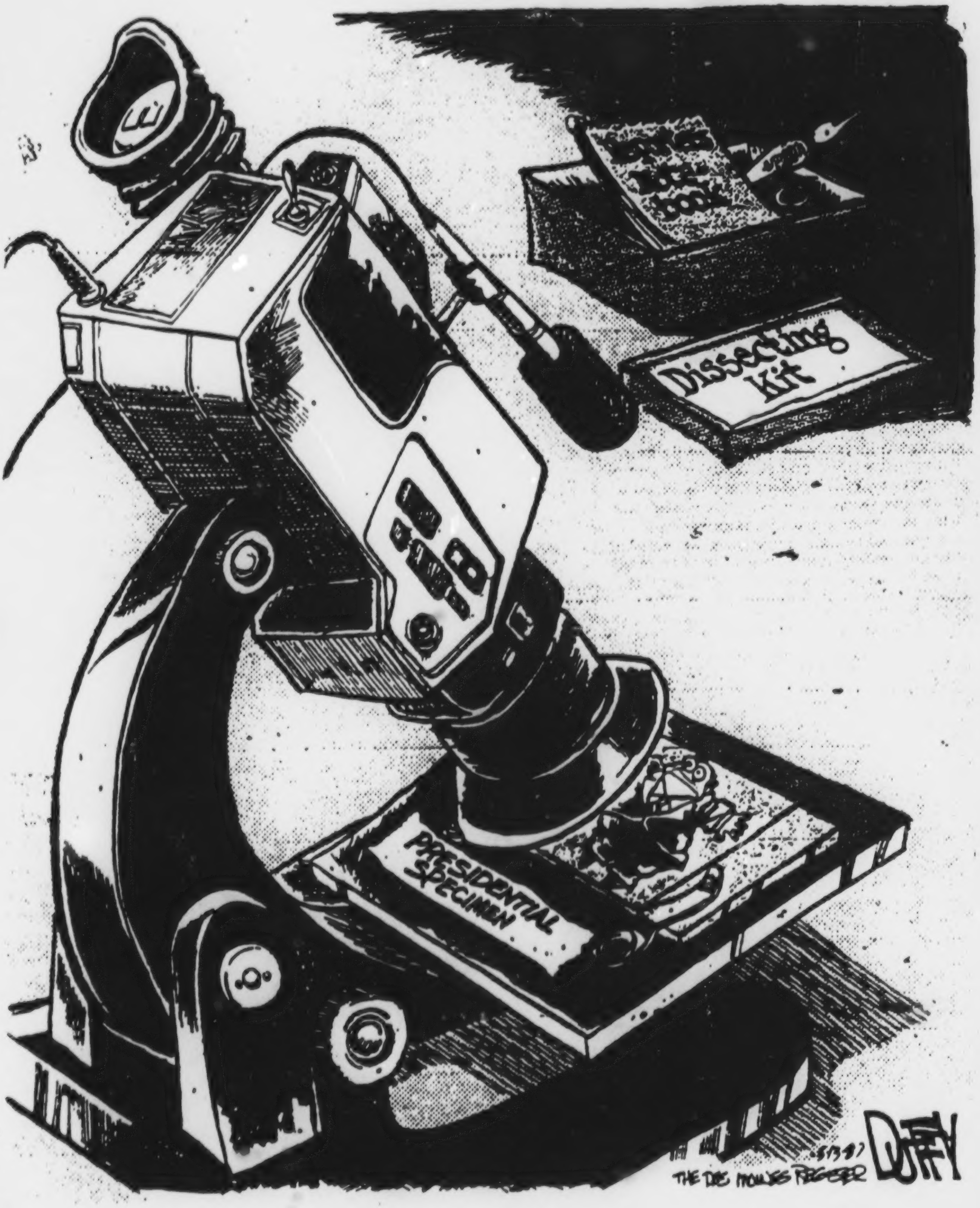
D. What position does the cartoonist take on this issue? (Bias)

E. What is your personal view of this issue? Do you agree with the cartoonist?

F. What special interest groups would agree/disagree with the cartoon's message? Why?

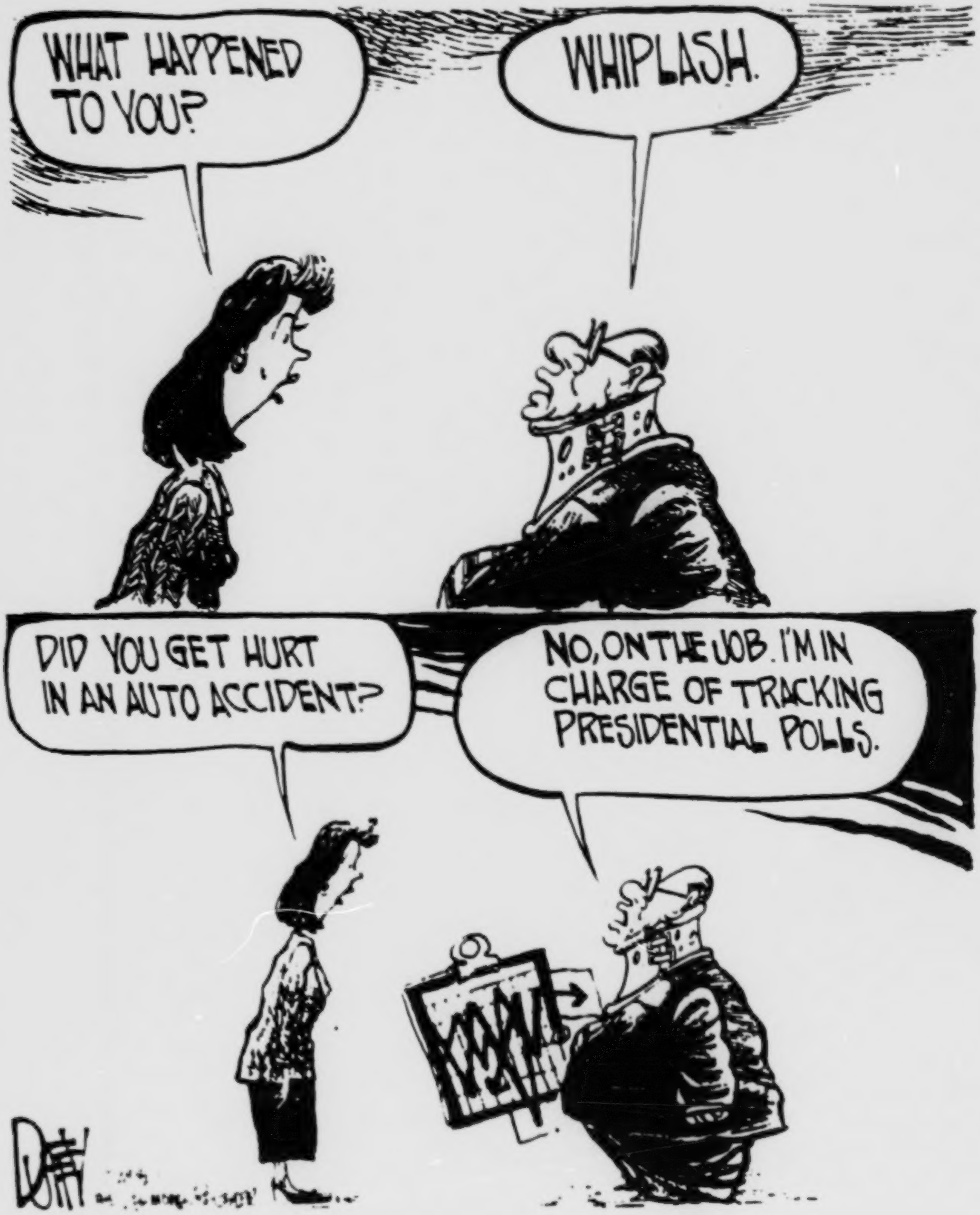

DUFFY
THE DES MOINES REGISTER
Press
CANDIDATES:
WOMANIZING
PLAGIARIZING
FALSIFYING!
more inside

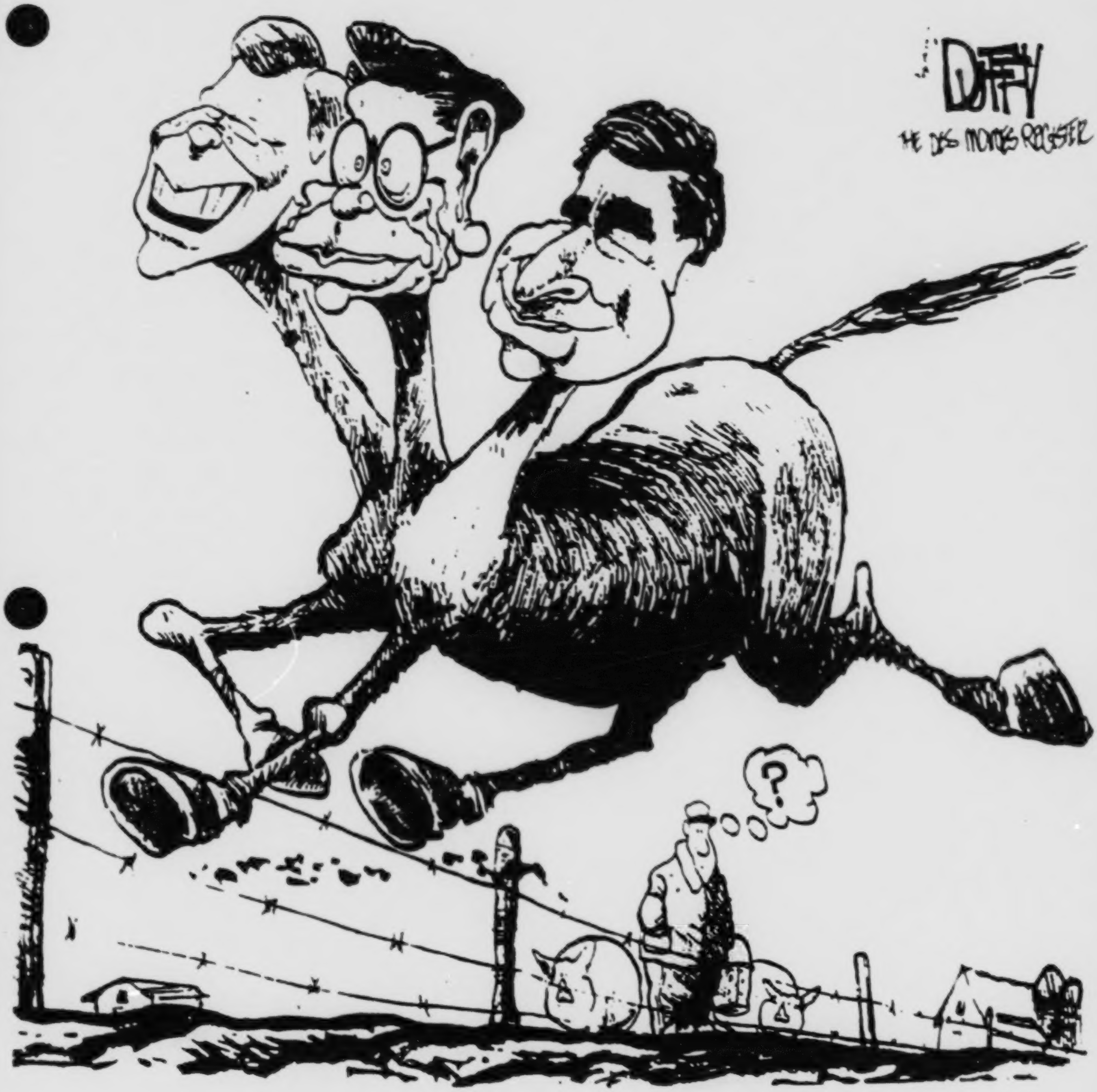
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

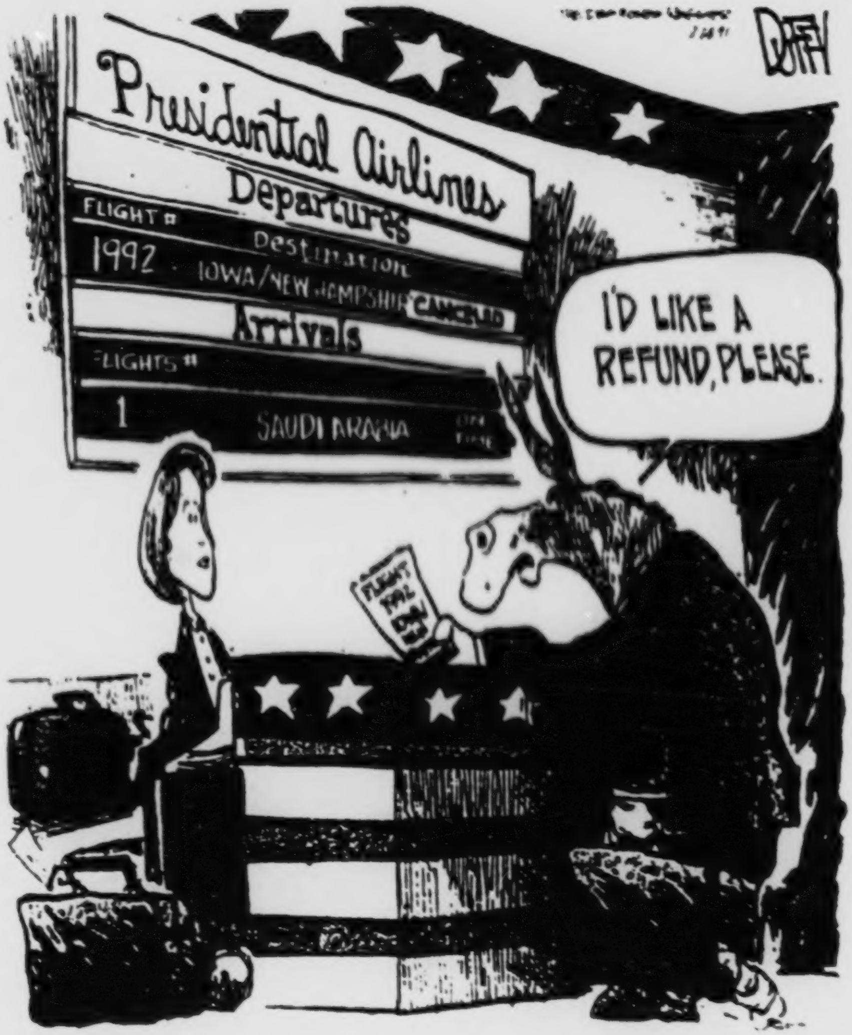

Dissecting Kit
PRESIDENTIAL SPECIMEN
5/13/97
THE DES MOINES REGISTER
DUFFY

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

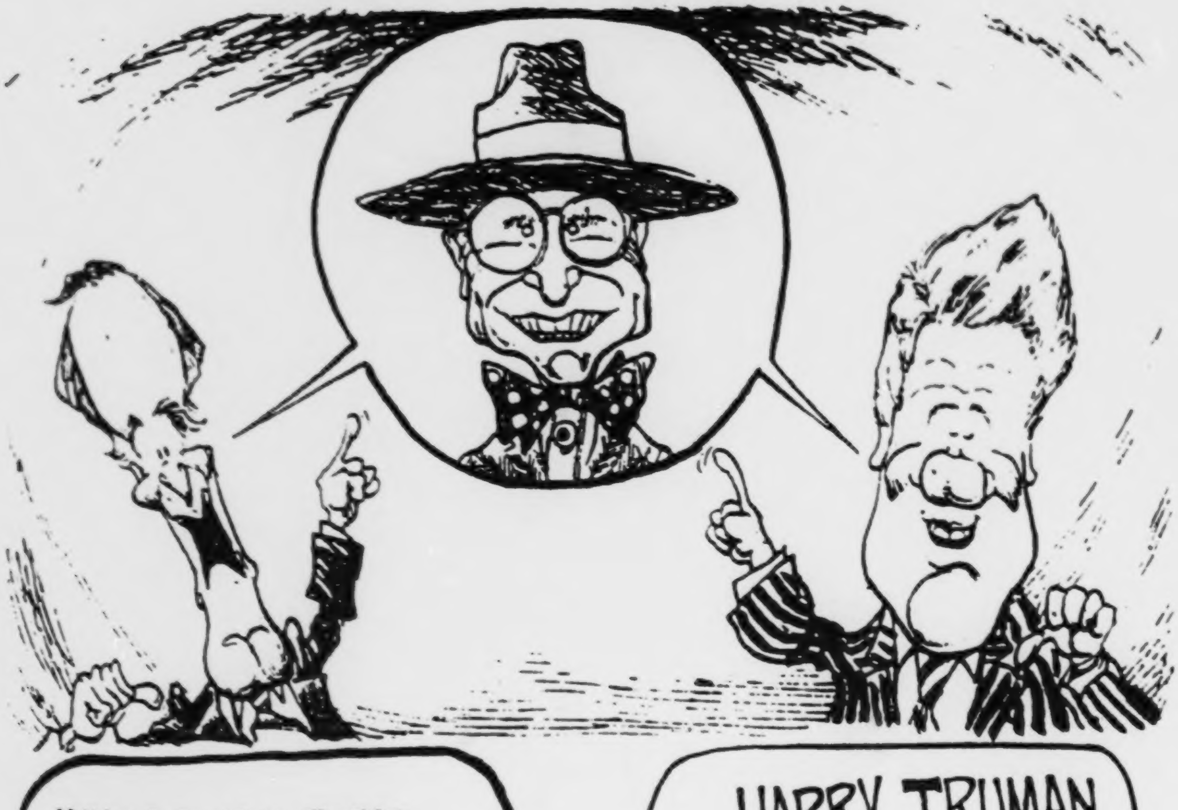
DUFFY'S VIEW


WHAT HAPPENED TO YOU?
WHIPLASH.
DID YOU GET HURT IN AN AUTO ACCIDENT?
NO, ON THE JOB. I'M IN CHARGE OF TRACKING PRESIDENTIAL POLLS.
DUFFY

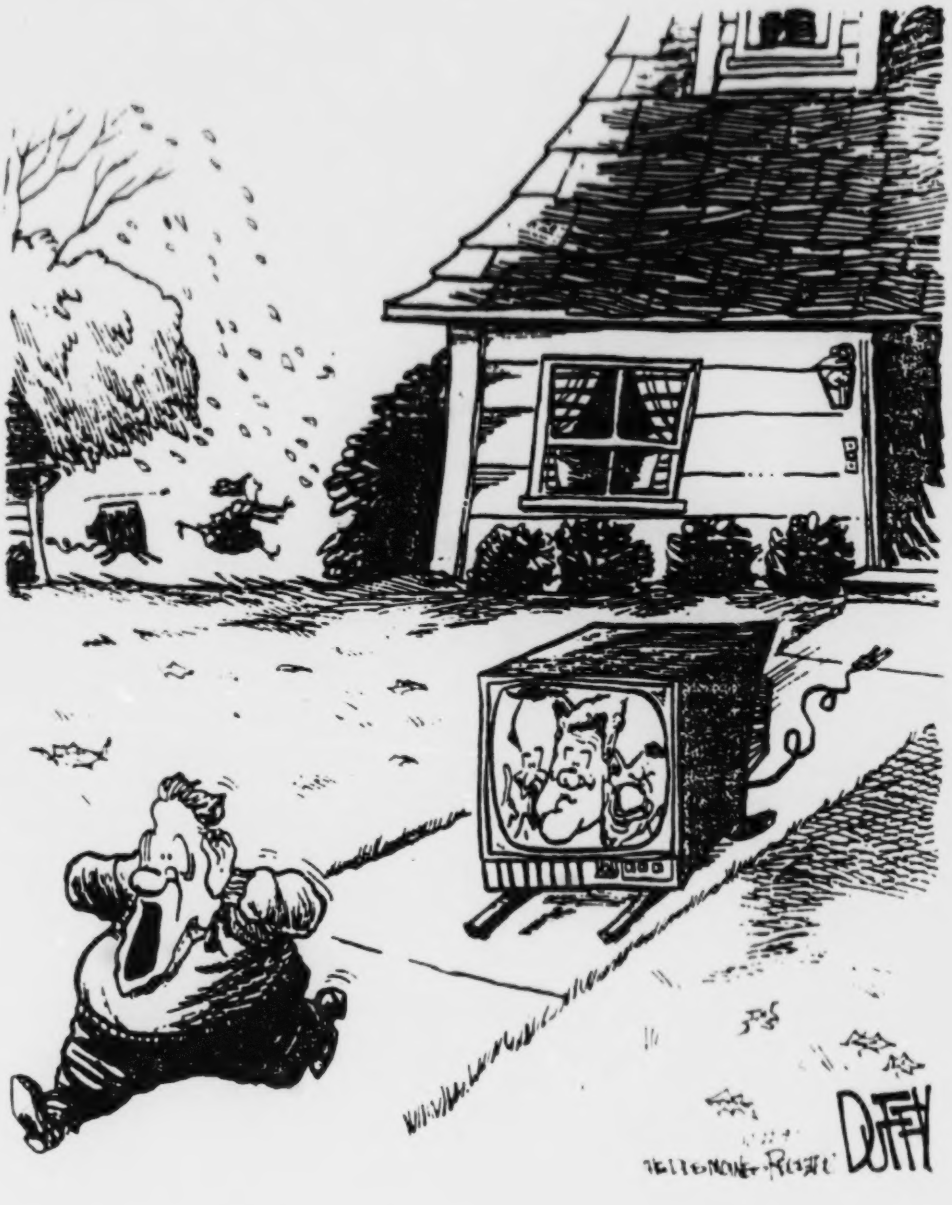

DUFFY
THE DES MOINES REGISTER
?

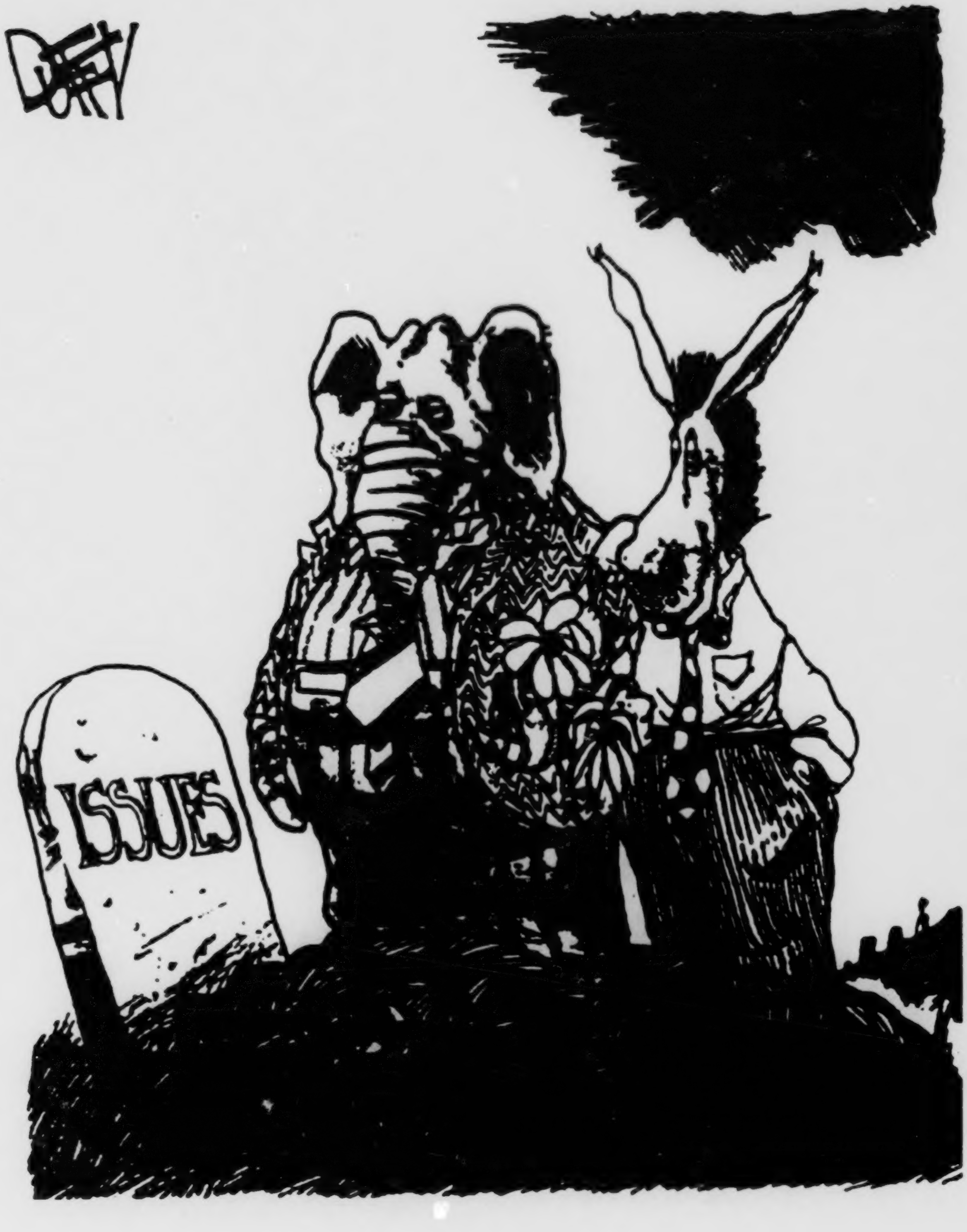

DUFFY
Presidential Airlines
Departures
FLIGHT #
Destination
1992
IOWA/NEW HAMPSHIRE
CANCELED
Arrivals
FLIGHTS #
1
SAUDI ARABIA
I'D LIKE A REFUND, PLEASE.
FLIGHT 1992

DUFFY'S VIEW

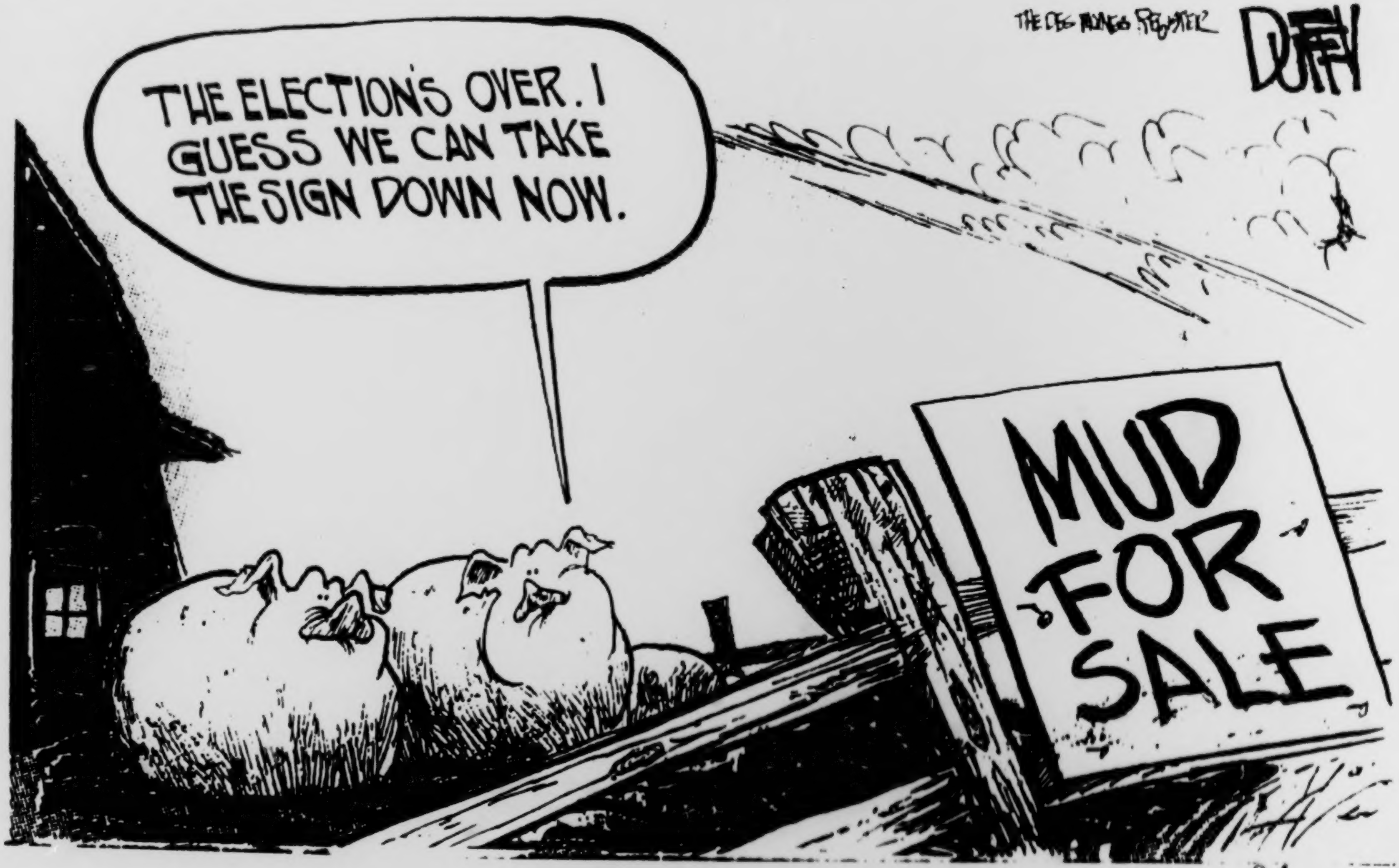

WHO ARE YOU GOING TO VOTE FOR THIS FALL?
HARRY TRUMAN.
7-3-92
DUFFY

DUFFY'S VIEW


DES MOINES REGISTER
DUFFY


DUFFY
ISSUES

DUFFY'S VIEW


THE DES MOINES REGISTER
DUFFY
THE ELECTION'S OVER. I GUESS WE CAN TAKE THE SIGN DOWN NOW.
MUD FOR SALE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SECTION II

SELECTING THE PRESIDENT: WHAT DO WE WANT IN A PRESIDENT?

SELECTING THE PRESIDENT: WHAT DO WE WANT IN A PRESIDENT?

The first set of activities in this section are designed to get students thinking about the ideal presidential candidate. They review the few mandatory qualifications and attempt to generate additional traits needed in our chief executive.

1. Review constitutional requirements for Presidency with students and ask class to brainstorm additional qualifications or characteristics. (Alternative: Students read U.S. Constitution, Article II themselves and list the qualifications, powers, duties, and limitations of the Presidency as homework for comparison with handout in class.)

2. Handout the list of 50 common characteristics compiled by comparing lists from political scientists, journalists, politicians, and others from the last 25+ years. As a class or individually, have students identify commonalties and differences with the list generated by the class in the brainstorming activity in #1 (above). Students may wish to add additional items as they think more about what they want in a leader.

3. In small groups, students attempt to form a consensus on the top ten characteristics necessary in a president. Groups share their lists with the rest of the class. Can a class consensus be formed? Are there any traits included on all of the lists?

4. Students create "Want Ads" for the Presidency using the information and ideas discussed in the previous activities. Display in class for all to see and compare.

The second set of activities moves from an abstract consideration of the Presidency to specific investigations of actual candidates for the nomination. Students work in candidate groups to do research and analytical activities.

5. Students are divided into groups, each investigating a specific candidate. These groups are charged with the task of researching their candidate's background and biography. (See Sources of Biographical Information). A worksheet with research questions is included in the student materials to guide and assist group investigation.

6. Students sift through accumulated material to create a candidate resume and letter of application. Each group prepares a resume and letter for their candidate to be posted in the classroom for all to examine and review. The resumes should follow accepted form, highlighting experience and achievements. The application letters should emphasize those attributes, beliefs, and character strengths that the group feels best showcases their candidate.

7. Each candidate group should attempt to locate a copy of or excerpts from a typical "stump speech" by their candidate. (In 1992, the Des Moines Register ran a series of composite candidate speeches of the major candidates seeking nomination. This will most likely continue during election years. For other sources of candidate information, possibly including speeches, refer to Sources of Biographical Information.)

8. Candidate work groups analyze speech using the framework included in the student materials. The students should pay special attention to summarizing the message of the speech in an effort to identify the overall campaign theme.

9. Each work group now acts like a campaign consulting firm for their particular candidate. Using the background information gathered in the previous activities, each group constructs a new stump speech on behalf of their candidate - highlighting those characteristics, experiences, and policy proposals found most positive by the group.

10. Groups prepare, write and deliver short stump speeches on behalf of their candidates.

- How did the speeches created by the groups differ from the original stump speeches?
- What elements did the student groups emphasize that the candidates did not?
- Were the overall campaign themes maintained or did student groups make changes based on their understanding of voter desires?

11. Once all of the groups have presented their candidates, students are divided into separate small groups (comprised of at least one member from each candidate group). These groups will review the resumes, letters of application, and speeches of each candidate. Each group discusses and debates the merits of each candidate and forms a group consensus on the best candidate for the job. Along the way, each group must generate criteria for making such a determination. When each group presents their decision to the whole class, they must explain their reasoning.

12. Each group reports it's findings to the whole class. Whole class discussion. Is there a clear consensus? Conduct a class primary election to determine favored candidate(s).

13. These selection activities have been done without taking into account other political considerations that may have a major impact on the real selection process. Ask students to speculate - How does their selection differ from what they expect will happen? What are the other factors that might influence the selection of a nominee?

Extra Activity:

As important as what a candidate says are the logistical considerations involved:

- Who is the Audience?
- When is the speech given?
- Where is the location of the speech?
- What is the topic of the speech?
- How long did the speech last?

Our fascination with behind-the-scenes politics have made these considerations more important than what is actually said. Campaign oratory has always been more about the event than the topic of the speech. While this aspect of political campaign speeches is not the focus of this unit, students could track candidate speeches (newspapers, TV network news, CSpan) in an effort to understand better the strategies involved.

The third set of activities in this section introduces a variety of models that political scientists have used to "classify" presidents, attempting to understand how voters can better decide among candidates. Students read excerpts of works and try to fit candidates into the models.

14. Assign students the excerpt reading for each model of analysis (Novak, Rossiter, and Barber). The activity questions following each article have students apply the models to past and current candidates.

Rossiter

Additions to Mythic List

In addition to Rossiter's six "mythic" presidents, I would add three more: **Franklin Roosevelt**, **John Kennedy**, and **Ronald Reagan**. Again, actual performance in office is not as important as the perception of the person as President. In this respect, Roosevelt, Kennedy, and Reagan each contributed significantly to the "folklore" of the office. Ironically, during the 1992 campaign both President Bush and Governor Clinton chose Harry Truman (not on Rossiter's list) as the archetypal president.

Name association

Washington: Father of the Country, American Cincinnatus
Jefferson: America's Renaissance Man, Visionary, Inventor
Jackson: Populist, Founder of Modern Democracy, Heroic
Lincoln: Honest, Compassionate, Moral, Great Emancipator
T. Roosevelt: Progressive, Activist, Bully Pulpit
Wilson: Academic, Man of Convictions, Peacemaker
F. Roosevelt: Warmth, Compassion, Democracy's Dictator
Kennedy: Vigorous, Service-oriented, Camelot
Reagan: Grandfatherly, Great Communicator, Imperial

Barber

In The Presidential Character, Barber classified all of the 20th Century Presidents from T. Roosevelt through Carter based on his matrix.

Passive-Positive: Taft, T. Roosevelt, Harding
Active-Positive: F. Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Carter
Active-Negative: Wilson, Hoover, Johnson, Nixon
Passive-Negative: Coolidge, Eisenhower

15. Work with students in class to ensure understanding of the models and how they attempt to classify presidents and presidential candidates. Challenge the class to come up with alternative methods of classification.

16. As a culminating activity, students, work alone or in groups to construct an ideal composite candidate - "President Frankenstein" (combining the attributes of a number of people to create a new whole). These composites may be historical (past presidents and candidates), current (using contemporary candidates only), or ideal (combining attributes from anybody - living or dead, American or foreign).

Sources of Biographical Information:

During the 1992 nomination campaign *The Des Moines Register* ran biographical sketches and stump speeches of each of the major candidates. The *Register* is just one source of biographical information. If particular information seems to be lacking, it does not necessarily mean that the candidate has no experience, position, or belief. Other sources may provide more or different insight. It is important to use a variety of sources when compiling candidate information.

Major News Magazines:

Time
Newsweek
U.S. News & World Reports
Business Week

Political Magazines

The Nation
National Review
The New Republic

Major Newspapers:

New York Times
Washington Post
Christian Science Monitor
Wall Street Journal
Des Moines Register

If candidate currently holds or has held federal office:

Almanac of American Politics
Politics in America

Other Sources:

Atlantic Monthly
Harper's Magazine
Vital Speeches of the Day

SELECTING THE PRESIDENT: WHAT DO WE WANT IN A PRESIDENT?

The American public faces a unique democratic dilemma. In all other democracies around the world, the roles of ceremony and policy are separated. A Monarch or President serves as the head of the nation, engaging in the ceremonial duties of office while a Prime Minister addresses the substantive policy issues. In the U.S., however, both spheres are combined in a single office. Every 4 years when voters select a President, they must decide which of the two responsibilities, head of state or head of government, is more important. History has shown that Americans overwhelmingly prefer the King over the Prime Minister.

In a 1967 memo to candidate Richard Nixon, political advisor Ray Price wrote:

> *People identify with a President in a way they do with no other public figure. Potential presidents are measured against an ideal that's a combination of leading man, God, father, hero, Pope, King, and maybe just a touch of the avenging furies thrown in. They want him to be larger than life, a living legend, and yet quintessentially human; someone to be held up to their children as a model; someone to be cherished as a revered member of the family."*

This desire for a president who is larger than life has made issues of image among the most important factors in candidate selection.

Many people deplore the fact that personality and style are evaluated as equal or more important than issues and substance. But voters who pay attention to personal traits should not be dismissed as irrational. In 1988, Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis noted, "The next President of the United States will face challenges that no campaign position paper can possibly anticipate. But what can be measured in advance is the character of the person who will confront these challenges." A candidate's personality is a perfectly legitimate and proper subject for voter's to weigh. There is little doubt that a candidate's sense of self-confidence and personal style of conduct can affect how s/he would behave in office and how others around the world perceive her/him. A flaw in presidential character may affect behavior in foreign policy crises with disastrous consequences. Experience and competence surely have something to do with the manner in which a president conducts business. Warmth and activity are related to the general direction which policy is likely to follow. Even religion and regional and social background can be relevant to some policy choices. Therefore, an emphasis on character and personality is not misguided.

The American electorate has traditionally valued certain traits in its presidential candidates, These reflect the public's psychological needs and its expectations of those in office. These traits also provide a model of an ideal president, one that may be used to evaluate an incumbent and to rate challengers. In Choosing Our King (1974), Michael Novak wrote: "The President of the United States is a person who embodies the national ideal, its aspirations, its dreams, a person whose image the people want in their homes as a source of inspiration, and whose voice they want as their representative of their nation in the councils of the world, and of their generation in the pages of history."

The choices that citizens are faced with in selecting a president are crucial. The activities in this section are designed to equip you with some of the skills necessary to make informed and intelligent decisions.

Constitutional Powers & Limitations of the President of the United States

The qualifications, duties, powers, and limitations of the position of the President of the United States are specified in Article II of the U.S. Constitution.

Qualifications

- Must be a natural born citizen of the United States
- Must be age 35 or older
- Must have resided in the United States for at least 14 years
- Must swear to faithfully execute duties and to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution

Duties & Powers

- Provide Congress with periodic information on the state of the Union
- Command armed forces
- Appoint Judges to the Supreme Court
- Appoint the heads of executive departments
- Appoint diplomatic representatives of the United States
- Make treaties with other nations
- Veto Congressional legislation

Limitations

- May not serve more than two terms of office
- May not engage in treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors
- May not engage in actions prohibited by the Constitution

The Constitution provides only basic guidelines for the qualifications of the President. It is up to citizens to assess potential candidates for the position and to make decisions as to the type of person they want to represent them and their nation.

Activity

What other qualifications and characteristics should the President of the United States have? Make a list of your own, and then share your ideas with other members of your class.

Public Demands

Over the years many journalists, political scientists, politicians, and average citizens have compiled lists of desirable characteristics for the President of the United States to possess. It would take many pages to list all of these character ideals. Below is a list of some of the common characteristics (traits that appeared on at least 3 lists):

The Ideal President Must Be/Have:

- **Active**
- **Assertive**
- **Calm**
- **Candid**
- **"Clean"**
- **Communicator**
- **Competent**
- **Confident**
- **Consensus Builder**
- **Courageous**
- **Decisive**
- **Dignified**
- **Dominant**
- **Dynamic**
- **Empathy**
- **Experienced**
- **Fair**
- **Fear Easer**
- **Good Judgment**
- **Hard-Working**
- **Honest**
- **Honorable**
- **Independent**
- **Inspiring**
- **Intelligent**
- **Knowledgeable**
- **Managerial**
- **Mature**
- **Open to New Ideas**
- **Orator**
- **Physical Energy**
- **Political Intuition**
- **Pragmatic**
- **"Presidential" looks**
- **Problem-Solving**
- **Productive**
- **Rational**
- **Reasonable**
- **Sense of History**
- **Sensitive**
- **Serious**
- **Sincere**
- **Skillful**
- **Stability**
- **Strong**
- **Thoughtful**
- **Trustworthy**
- **Understanding**
- **Visionary**
- **Warmth**

Activity:

Compare these 50 characteristics with the list that you and your classmates compiled in the previous activity. Are there many that are the same? Give some additional thought to your list and to the one above. Individually, and then as a class, try to rank order what you believe to be the 10 most important or valuable traits for the President to have.

Activity:

You are undoubtedly familiar with the Want Ads that appear in the classified section of the daily newspaper. These notices are placed by employers and outline the responsibilities, qualifications, and desired traits of potential employees. As citizens of the United States, we are the President's employers. Based on your thinking in the last activities write a Want Ad for the Presidency. Be sure to describe what you consider to be the essential characteristics for the job.

Candidate Biographies

When researching candidate backgrounds and biographies look for information in each of the following categories:

- *Personal Background/Traits/Characteristics*

  What seem to be the major positive characteristics that the candidates possess?

  Are there any negative features to the candidates' characters?

- *Professional Training/Preparation/Experience*

  What in the candidates' backgrounds prepares or qualifies them to be considered for the Presidency?

  What key governmental positions have the candidates held?

  Do the candidates have any experience in the private sector?

  What are the candidates' academic credentials? Do these matter?

- *Personal Values/Beliefs*

  What strongly held personal values do the candidates have?

  Is there anything in the candidates' personal lives that might shed light on their performance as President?

- *Policy Proposals/Issue Positions*

  What issues have been most important to candidates, both during the campaign and in past public service?

  What positions do the candidates take on the major issues of the day?

  What problems have the candidates identified?

  What solutions have they proposed?

The four categories combine both image- and issue-oriented questions. At this stage of the process, image characteristics may play a more important role. While candidates may reveal broad policy intentions, it would be impossible for them to say definitively what they would do in every given situation. If a candidate has served in the U.S. House of Representatives or the Senate it may be useful to look at past voting records to gain a better sense of policy positions or beliefs.

Challenges bring out Bush's fighting spirit

Iowa's Leach thinks the president will rise to the occasion as he faces battles from the right and the left.

By JANE NORMAN
REGISTER STAFF WRITER

THE CANDIDATES
Seventh of eight articles

Washington, D.C. — Rep. Jim Leach of Iowa has been watching George Bush for almost 20 years, and Leach has some advice for those who think the president can't recover from his political difficulties.

Despite his patrician background, "the president is an extraordinarily competitive individual," says Leach, a Republican from Davenport who was one of Bush's first supporters in Iowa in 1980. "The competitive side of his nature is a very dominant personality trait."

That trait was evident in the 1988 race and will be called on repeatedly as Bush faces a primary challenge from conservative Pat Buchanan in New Hampshire and seeks to convince Americans that his plans will lead to the recession's end.

Tough Talk

"We are going to lift this nation out of hard times, inch by inch and day by day, and those who would stop us had best step aside," Bush said in his Jan. 28 State of the Union address. "Because I look at hard times and make this vow: This will not stand."

The president had used the same phrase when launching the Persian Gulf War, and it called up memories of times when his popularity was soaring. In sharp contrast, the most [illegible]cent Washington Post/ABC poll [illegible]ows that half of those surveyed said Bush does not "understand the economic problems people in this country are having."

Republican strategist Ed Rollins said recently that Bush had "tremendous success" in the foreign policy arena, but that the focus now is on the domestic economy. "The president gets credit for the good things and he gets blamed for the bad things," Rollins said on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley" last month.

"And obviously, this particular president right now is not being totally blamed, but I think people feel that he needs to do more, and I think he will do more."

No Quick Fix

Leach said the president's task is to "step out and address the real issues of real people." However, that doesn't mean the government can "turn things around like turning on a spigot," said Leach.

The best way to look at the president's agenda in the 1992 campaign is to examine his proposed 1993 budget. "The budget that President Bush sent Congress . . . is essentially his campaign manifesto, and it delineates how starkly his views differ from those of his Democratic opponents in Congress and on the campaign trail," a recent New York Times analysis said.

But it also did not satisfy conservatives, who are still unhappy with Bush's agreement to the 1990 budget accord, which increased taxes.

"The president's anti-recession

BUSH *Please turn to Page 2*[illegible]

MARK MARTURELLO/THE REGISTER

GEORGE BUSH

◆ **BACKGROUND:** Born June 12, 1924, in Milton, Mass.; grew up in Connecticut; now owns a summer home in Maine, but calls Texas home.

◆ **CAREER:** 1942-45, served in the U.S. Navy; 1953-59, co-founder and director of Zapata Petroleum Co.; 1955-66, president and then chairman of Zapata Off Shore Co.; 1967-71, served in the U.S. House, representing Texas; 1971-72, U.S. representative to the United Nations; 1973-74, chairman of the Republican National Committee; 1974-75, chief of U.S. office in Bejing, China; 1976-77, director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency; 1964 and 1970, unsuccesssful candidate for U.S. Senate; 1980, unsuccessfully sought Republican nomination for president; 1981-89, vice president under Ronald Reagan; since 1989, president.

◆ **EDUCATION:** 1948, bachelor's degree in economics, Yale University.

◆ **FAMILY:** Wife, Barbara; and five adult children, George, Joh[illegible]l, Marvin, and Dorothy.

Challenges to push 'competitive' Bush

BUSH

Continued from Page 1A

package, while including many worthwhile recommendations, is insufficient to undo the damage done by the record tax increase," said economist Daniel M. Mitchell of the Heritage Foundation.

According to the budget document overview distributed by the White House, "the president's agenda for job-creating growth is comprised of both short-term measures to get the economy moving and longer-term measures to secure American growth for the future."

Withholding Reduction

Over the short term, there are actions he can take by executive order. Bush plans to reduce personal income tax withholding by an average of $345 a year on a joint return; to accelerate previously appropriated federal spending; to take steps to reduce the credit crunch and to ease government regulation by freezing some rules for 90 days.

When it comes to job creation, Bush maintains his firm and longstanding belief that a capital gains tax cut is the best investment incentive there is, in sharp contrast to Democrats on the stump. Bush wants the tax on long-term gains cut to 15.4 percent and also would like to see a new 15 percent Investment Tax Allowance.

Specifically, when fully phased in by 1994, 45 percent of the gains from all assets held by individuals, other than "collectibles," would be exempt from taxes if the assets were held more than three years. If the assets were held for two years, 30 percent of the gains would be excluded, and at one year, 15 percent would be excluded.

Corporations would not be able to claim this exclusion, which Mitchell of the Heritage Foundation says would leave the cost of capital for businesses at "uncompetitively high levels."

Bush said in the State of the Union, "The opponents of this measure — and those who've authored various so-called soak-the-rich bills that are floating around this chamber — should be reminded of something: When they aim at the big guy they usually hit the little guy."

Investment Tax Allowance

Incentives for purchase of equipment by businesses would be provided by adoption of an Investment Tax Allowance, the president argues. Under that proposal, additional first-year depreciation equal to 15 percent of the purchase price of the equipment would be allowed.

Bush also backs a host of real estate incentives, including a new $5,000 tax credit for first-time home buyers, penalty-free Individual Retirement Account withdrawals for first-time home buyers and deductions for losses on the sale of personal residences.

Over the long term, the president wants to see record investment in federal research and development, along with the same for the Head Start program for 4-year-olds, taking it to $2.8 billion. He wants to boost spending for fighting crime and drug abuse and for the infrastructure.

His proposals for "pro-family incentives" include a new flexible IRA with penalty-free withdrawals for medical and educational expenses and tax-free withdrawal after seven years. Bush also proposes to institute tax deductibility of interest paid on student loans and to increase by $500 the personal income tax exemption for children.

Deficit Control

When it comes to "budget discipline," or bringing the growth of the budget and deficit under control, Bush wants a freeze on federal domestic discretionary budget authority, complete elimination of 246 programs and more than 4,000 projects, a freeze on federal domestic government employment and a 4 percent cut in the number of federal workers.

On defense, the president will limit production of the B-2 bomber, stop new production of "peacekeeper" missiles and halt purchase of advanced cruise missiles. However, he also warned that he has now cut the military by 30 percent since he took office and would resist further reductions.

And he asked Congress to pass his comprehensive crime bill, which includes a federal death penalty and tougher penalties for crimes committed with firearms.

He said he is preparing a health plan that will offer tax deductions for the middle class, make use of a voucher worth up to $3,750 for low-income uninsured people, provide insurance security for people moving between jobs, "preserve and increase the idea of choice" and bring costs under control.

WEDNESDAY: *David Duke.*

THE CANDIDATES

Second of eight articles

> **'If I have any** advantage, it's just having 11 years of grassroots practical work that you do as governor.'

By PHOEBE WALL HOWARD

REGISTER STAFF WRITER

Little Rock, Ark. — Bashing Bill Clinton is popular sport in Arkansas.

His wife tells Bill jokes. His daughter tells Bill jokes. Even Bill tells Bill jokes. Residents quip about his allergies, his addiction to public opinion polls and his wife's superior presidential qualifications.

Residents also say they are sick of Clinton, then return him to office for a fifth term with 58 percent of the vote in November 1990. Leading up to that election, he promised Arkansans he would serve his full two-year term. Eleven months after winning, he announced his candidacy for president.

"Circumstances change in politics. I don't attach enormous significance to that," said Arkansas state Sen. John Pagan, a Democrat and occasional critic of Clinton. "There's probably nobody in the race who has a better grasp of domestic issues than Clinton. The man is extremely sharp. . . . He's not just glib."

Clinton, 45, is described by voters, reporters and political analysts as a man who looks like a president, acts like a president and sounds like a president.

The Latest Setback

But standing in the way are persistent reports of his alleged marital infidelity, exacerbated Monday by a state employee's claims during a news conference that she was his lover for 12 years. Clinton has tried sidestepping the allegations in an effort to focus attention on his campaign platform.

The controversy is the latest setback Clinton has faced in a career marked by unpredictability.

It all started in Hope, Ark. Clinton never met his father, a heavy-equipment salesman who drowned after his vehicle slid off a Missouri road, throwing him into a ditch. With few job prospects, Clinton's mother headed to Louisiana to attend school.

Clinton lived with his grandparents in Arkansas for the next four years, watching his grandfather welcome blacks into the family grocery store at a time when segregation was common.

His mother returned when he was 4 and married Roger Clinton Sr., a car salesman whom Clinton describes as an abusive alcoholic. The family moved to Hot Springs, a gambling and vacation town, where Clinton established himself as a school leader and changed his last name from Blythe to Clinton.

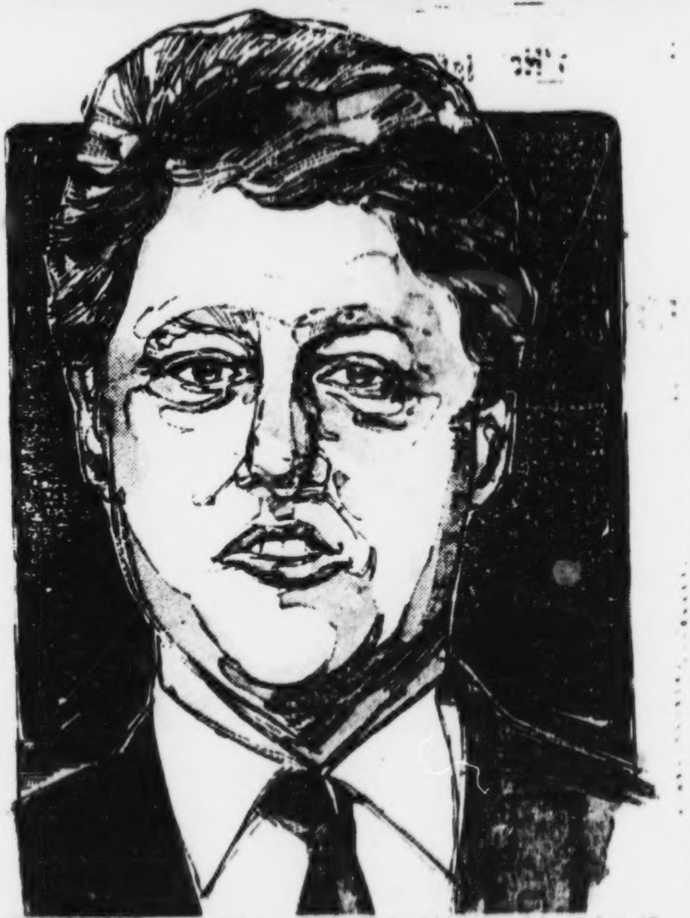
"Practical Work"

In 1978, at the age of 32, Clinton became the nation's youngest governor. He was defeated in 1980, elected again in 1982 and now is America's longest-serving governor.

"If I have any advantage, it's just having 11 years of grassroots practical work that you do as governor that you don't have the opportunity

CLINTON *Please turn to Page* **2A**

BILL CLINTON



◆ **BACKGROUND:** Born William Jefferson Blythe IV in Hope, Ark., on Aug. 19, 1946. After the death of his father in a car accident, he took the surname of his stepfather.

◆ **CAREER:** 1966-68, assistant clerk for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; 1974-76, law professor, University of Arkansas at Fayetteville; 1976-1978, Arkansas attorney general; 1979-80, Arkansas governor; 1981-82, private law practice; since 1983, Arkansas governor.

◆ **EDUCATION:** Bachelor's degree, Georgetown School of Foreign Service, 1968; Rhodes scholar, Oxford University in England, 1968-70; law degree, Yale University, 1973.

◆ **FAMILY:** Wife, Hillary, a Little Rock lawyer, and a daughter, Chelsea, 11.

Clinton no newcomer to trouble

CLINTON

Continued from Page 1A

to do as senator," Clinton said recently.

His education initiatives helped to lower the state's dropout rate and raise teacher qualifications and salaries. The number of manufacturing jobs has risen, and he has brought more women and blacks into state government than any other Arkansas governor.

However, the state does have problems: Its unemployment levels are above average and teacher salaries, per-student spending and student test scores rank among the nation's lowest.

Clinton predicted that Republicans will say, " 'He taxes too much.' Even though my answer would be that both presidents Bush and Reagan urged us to raise taxes for education. They'll say, 'He doesn't have any foreign affairs experience. He's the governor of a small state. Arkansas is really poor.' . . . My answer? Maybe. But unlike America, we've been going in the right direction for the last 10 years. We led all the states around us in job growth."

Significant Shift?

He traveled America as chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council, trying to woo conservative Democrats with a message that differs from his party's traditional platform. Clinton supports abortion rights but also the death penalty.

"Here's a guy who represents what could be a significant shift in Democratic Party thinking," said Steve Barnes, columnist and Little Rock television anchorman. "Here is a Democrat who does not preach the politics of entitlement."

As president, Clinton wants:

- Tax cuts for Americans earning less than $100,000 and tax increases for people with incomes more than $200,000.
- An $800-per-child tax credit.
- Tax breaks for investments in new businesses held more than five years; investment tax credits for small- and medium-size companies creating jobs; an end to tax credits for U.S. plants that close and move overseas.
- College loans for students willing to provide public service or repay the money; apprenticeship programs for non college-bound Americans.

Clinton persuaded Arkansas legislators last year to raise teacher salaries about $4,000 by passing a half-cent sales tax increase.

Arkansas Turnaround

"In a space of less than a decade, he has gone from being the teachers' favorite whipping boy to the guy they're working for actively," Barnes said.

However, he said, some Arkansans were angry that Clinton was pitching to middle-class Americans.

"The middle class in Arkansas has really paid for everything he has done. They've paid for it with what are plainly regressive taxes," Barnes said.

Critics say Clinton has become overly cautious.

"It is difficult to imagine the 'old Bill Clinton' signing a home-schooling bill that was run through the legislature to pacify the religious right. Before his 1980 defeat, he would have killed it in its tracks," Barnes said.

Clinton, pegged as a progressive politician whose ideas could lead Arkansas out of the dark ages, bounced back from his 1980 defeat by apologizing to voters for mistakes and political arrogance.

Turning Point

That defeat was a pivotal point in Clinton's career. Now, observers say, he won't let his idealism interfere with practical politics.

He was instrumental in requiring Arkansas schools to offer advanced math, science and foreign language courses; student test scores are up; the dropout rate is down.

Clinton was criticized for stopping a "race norming" program that benefitted minority applicants by adjusting state employment test results. That startled black voters, 85 percent of whom had voted to re-elect Clinton.

His campaign style plays well locally and nationally.

"He goes into a crowd and he touches. He will not merely shake hands. He will touch shoulders, backs, cheeks, chins, the backs of heads," Barnes said. "You saw a lot of that in George Wallace — that need to touch and be smiled at and praised."

Clinton is known for his uncanny ability to remember names, personal facts and professional contacts of those he meets. He said, laughing, "That's how I'm gonna win the election."

WEDNESDAY: *Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin.*

FIERY SPEECHES

Harkin struggles to prove campaign has substance

His plan to pump money into social programs makes him the only true Democrat in the race, he says.

THE CANDIDATES

Third of eight articles

By **THOMAS A. FOGARTY**

REGISTER STAFF WRITER

For a time last summer, U.S. Sen. Tom Harkin's budding campaign for president seemed to be based on a single word, a barnyard epithet he used as an all-encompassing criticism of the policies of the Bush administration.

Now, Harkin's campaign message has moved beyond that.

In speeches and papers, Harkin recently has started to address the critics who say his firebrand populism is all style and no substance.

Harkin's decision to put some intellectual meat on the rhetorical bones of his campaign comes just weeks ahead of Feb. 18, when voters in New Hampshire put Harkin and the other Democrats to the first true test of the 1992 campaign.

Diverting Money

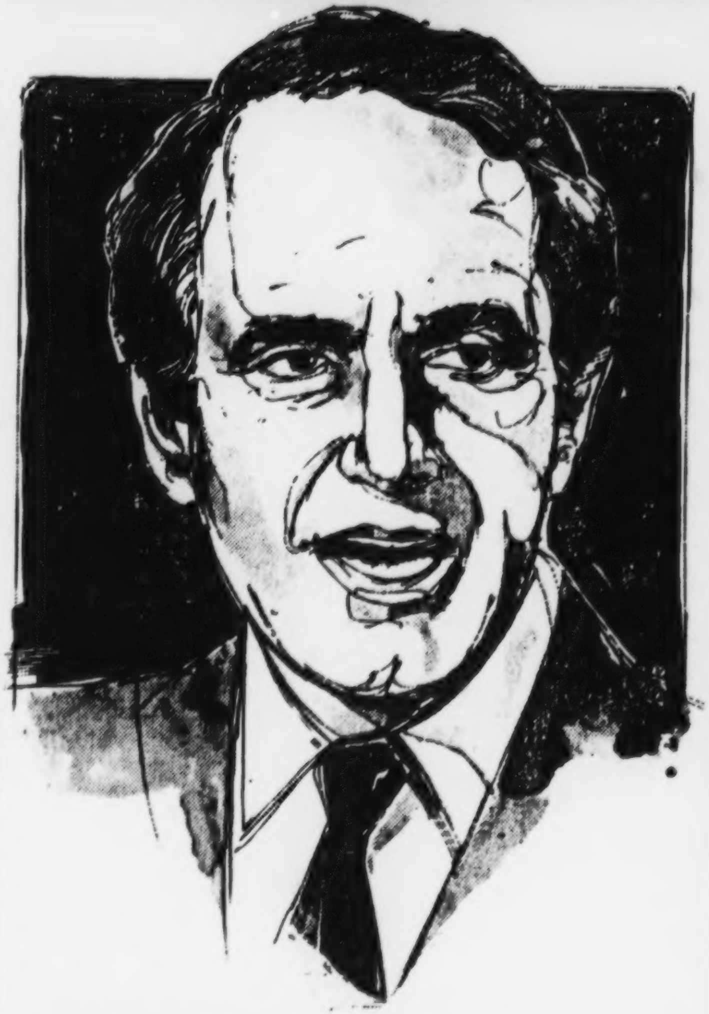
The essence of the Harkin program is the diversion of money: from the military to domestic needs and to the elimination of the federal budget deficit. It's this plan that Harkin says makes him not only "the only true Democrat" seeking the nomination, but also the legitimate inheritor of the legacies of Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson.

"We need a leader who can think deeply and gather himself or herself for the struggle ahead," Harkin said last week at Harvard University. He said his plan shows that he's prepared today to do what "Democratic presidents did in the crash of the

HARKIN *Please turn to Page* **2A**

MARK MARTURELLO/THE REGISTER

TOM HARKIN



- **BACKGROUND:** Born Nov. 19, 1939, in Cumming, Ia.
- **CAREER:** 1962-67, U.S. Navy pilot; 1969-70, aide to U.S. Rep. Neal Smith, D-Iowa; 1972-74, lawyer for Polk County Legal Aid Society; 1975-85, U.S. representative from Iowa; since 1985, U.S. senator. He was the principal sponsor of the new Americans With Disabilities Act.
- **EDUCATION:** 1962, bachelor's degree, Iowa State University; 1972, law degree, Catholic University of America.
- **FAMILY:** Wife, Ruth, a lawyer in Washington, and two daughters, Amy, 15, and Jennifer, 9.

Harkin struggles to prove campaign has substance

HARKIN

Continued from Page 1A

'30s, in the face of fascism in the '40s (and) to accommodate the civil rights movement and the women's movement in the '60s."

Packaged by the campaign as "A Blueprint to Build a New America," Harkin calls for halving military spending over the next decade.

The cumulative savings, which Harkin calls his "peace dividend," would total $420 billion over the decade. Two-thirds — $280 billion — would be used to meet pressing domestic needs, including better schools, job training programs, health care and technological research and development. One-third — $140 billion — would be used for deficit reduction.

Changing World

Harkin said the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc has given the country a unique opportunity to fuel domestic recovery with money that would have been needed by the military during the Cold War. Harkin denies he's abandoning national security.

"Certainly, military threats still exist," he said in his Harvard speech. "But now they are more likely to come from terrorist states, drug traffickers and from the residue of our Cold War victory: the spread of nuclear weapons."

Under Harkin's plan, much of the savings would come from a proposed 90 percent reduction in the number of U.S. troops stationed in Europe. He said the 260,000 Americans now stationed there are guarding against a non-existent threat.

Harkin also would save by canceling or slowing production of weapons ordered by the Pentagon to meet anticipated technological advancements by the former Soviet Union.

Harkin has no plan for revamping health care. But he does offer a promise and some general goals.

"I'll sign a comprehensive health-care program for every American in the fall of 1993," Harkin promises in his stump speech. "The first president who campaigned for national health insurance was Harry Truman. What Harry started I'm going to finish."

Specifics of the health-care legislation would be worked out after his inauguration, Harkin says. He outlines several goals for his health legislation, including a guarantee of care for everyone, individual choice of doctors and hospitals, programs to prevent injury and illnesses, and expanded medical research on dread diseases.

> **"We should tell Japan either you buy more from us or you sell us less."**
>
> — Sen. Tom Harkin

Although much of the debate on foreign trade has centered on the ability of Ford, Chrysler and General Motors to sell their cars to the Japanese, Harkin maintains that the greater problem lies with the access of America's communications equipment, semiconductors and computers to markets in Japan and elsewhere.

Harkin calls for a multifaceted trade program that keeps low interest rates at home; assures that American industry is able to stay on the cutting edge of technology; assists economic development programs for emerging countries, and deals sternly with nations that unfairly restrict access to their markets.

"We should tell Japan either you buy more from us or you sell us less," says Harkin. "I'd say to the Japanese: 'In five years you'd better reduce the trade deficit close to zero; if not, we're going to close our door to you.' That's not protectionist."

Harkin has been bedeviled by critics who say he doesn't let facts get in the way of a good campaign promise. Last month, for example, NBC's Tom Brokaw, the moderator of a nationally televised debate, challenged Harkin's assertion that, for the cost of a B-2 bomber, he could solve a laundry list of social ills.

At the time, Harkin was telling audiences that the $850 million cost of a B-2 could be diverted to finance enrollment of another 120,000 children in Head Start, to immunize an additional 2 million children, to increase Alzheimer's disease research twofold and to provide maternity- and health-care for every low-income woman in America.

According to NBC's calculations, Brokaw said, those improved social and health services would cost $1.8 billion, not Harkin's estimated $850 million.

Harkin protested that the difference was simply a matter of NBC using different assumptions in its calculations. His point stands, Harkin said.

Populist Rhetoric

But if the Harkin message catches on in New Hampshire and beyond, it surely won't be because the Iowan is perceived as the candidate most likely to don a green eye shade and become the nation's chief accountant.

It will be the result of hot, populist rhetoric that makes hard-core Democratic audiences feel they've been right all along, despite their inability to elect a president since 1976.

As Harkin likes to tell the New Hampshire crowds: "If you want a Democratic president who is going to fine-tune Reaganomics, you don't want me. If you want a Democrat who's going to get in there and shake things up, I'm your man."

Tsongas wants party to shift on business

Massachusetts Democrat indicates new cures are needed for what ails the economy.

By DAVID YEPSEN
REGISTER STAFF WRITER

THE CANDIDATES
Fifth of eight articles

When Paul Tsongas retired from the U.S. Senate in 1985, it was to go home and die of cancer.

But painful and experimental medical treatments saved his life, and today the 50-year-old Democratic presidential candidate says it's time for the United States to take the cure, too. The old medicines won't work, either for the country or for the Democrats.

The Massachusetts politician presents himself as a "pro-business liberal" who argues the Democrats can't just argue about dividing the pie; they must focus on "making the pie larger."

"We cannot compete internationally by bringing Japan or our other rivals down, but only by raising ourselves," he says. "We must have a vibrant, competitive, thriving manufacturing base. This means highly paid Americans making the highest-quality products in the world and exporting those products all over the globe and bringing that money back home so there's prosperity here in America."

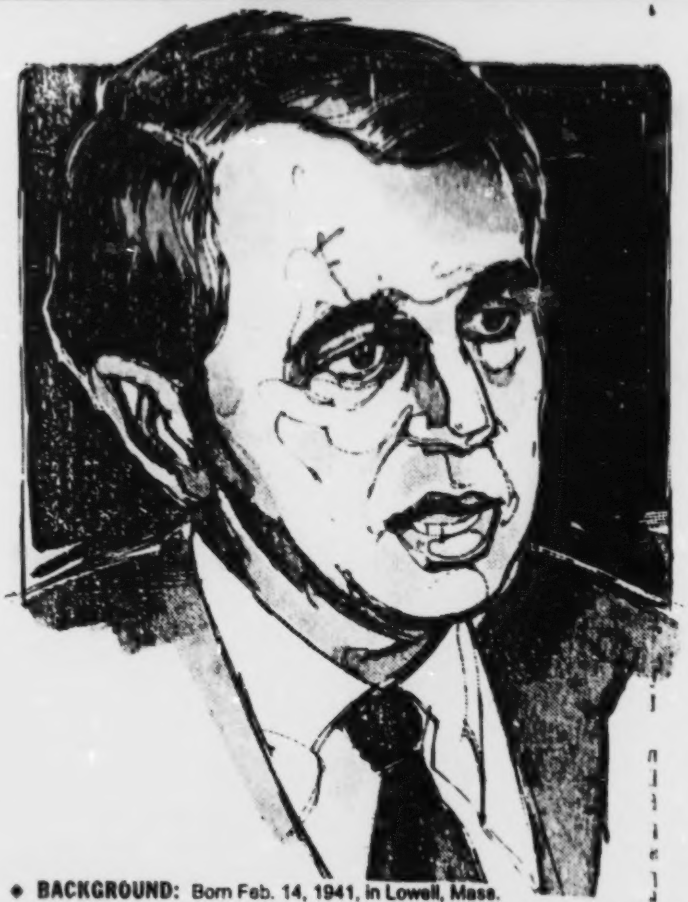
While the professionals dismissed him early in the race, they are doing that less these days. Tsongas' ratings in the polls have remained good in New Hampshire, site of the nation's first presidential primary on Feb. 18, and that is being taken as a signal that Democrats are looking for something different.

Tsongas' view that Democrats need to be responsive to business formed as a child when he watched his father go broke in the dry-cleaning business in his hometown of

TSONGAS *Please turn to Page* **2A**

MARK MARTURELLO/THE REGISTER

PAUL TSONGAS



- **BACKGROUND:** Born Feb. 14, 1941, in Lowell, Mass.
- **CAREER:** 1962-64, Peace Corps worker in Ethiopia; 1968-72, member of the Lowell (Mass.) City Council; 1969-71, deputy Massachusetts attorney general; 1972-74, Middlesex County (Mass.) commissioner; 1974-78, member of the U.S. House; 1978-84, member of the U.S. Senate; retired after one term to fight lymphoma, a form of cancer that has been in remission; author of the books, "The Road from Here: Liberalism and Realities in the 1980s" and "Heading Home."
- **EDUCATION:** 1962, bachelor's degree in history, Dartmouth College; 1967, law degree, Yale University.
- **FAMILY:** Wife, Nicola, a lawyer. Three daughters, Ashley, 17; Katina, 13; Molly, 9.

Tsongas wants shift on business

TSONGAS

Continued from Page 1A

Lowell, Mass. Today, he calls himself an "economic Paul Revere," sounding a warning about the demise of the nation's economy.

"At some point, there is going to have to be a decision about whether the Democratic Party is going to continue the populist approach, which it has had for 25 years," Tsongas tells audiences. "It is essentially an anti-business and class-warfare kind of argument that I call 'Twinkie economics': It tastes great, but it has no nutritional value in terms of the economy."

That's a bit of a shot aimed clearly at Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin, who says it is a call for "acting more like Republicans." Early in the race, Harkin sniffed at Tsongas' book, "A Call to Economic Arms," calling it a "bookLET." But as Tsongas rose in the polls and Harkin stalled, the Iowan has started publishing his own lengthy tracts in an effort to match the standards Tsongas has set in the campaign for specificity.

Tsongas' political career has always followed an unconventional path. He won upset victories to the City Council in Lowell and to the County Council, a position similar to that of county supervisor in Iowa. In 1974, he unseated an incumbent congressman. In 1978, he knocked off Republican Sen. Ed Brooke.

There was speculation Tsongas would run for president in 1984, but in 1983, he found he had a rare form of cancer. He quit his Senate re-election race to spend more than a year undergoing treatments in a long-shot effort to save his life.

He returned to a lucrative law practice to amass a nest egg for his family and says he spent that time thinking and writing. He fashioned a political philosophy that seeks to combine support for business as a way to achieve the economic growth necessary to fulfill the Democrats' social agenda.

"I'll use the power of the office of president to mobilize every sector of our society toward achieving one overriding goal: restoring America's economic strength," Tsongas says in a campaign ad. "Everyone — business, labor, government — must change the way they operate. This is not just about getting us out of recession; this is about stopping the decline of America. Our national security is at stake."

Among the ideas he offers are:

- A freeze on federal spending, but with the provision that existing money could be shifted to priority programs. Normal revenue growth would reduce the deficit.
- An order to bank regulators not to be so aggressive in foreclosing on businesses and homeowners who have a chance of making it.
- A lower capital-gains tax for those who make long-term investments or investments in growth companies.
- An increase in the gasoline tax to encourage energy conservation.
- An industrial policy to help U.S. businesses compete with German and Japanese firms that are getting help from their governments.
- Opposition to a middle-class tax cut because it would increase the deficit and not provide much new income for Americans to spend.
- Economic patriotism. A president should exhort the nation to save. Tsongas would also create "children's mutual funds" to encourage children to save more.

Also on the Tsongas agenda are proposals:

- Requiring employers to offer health insurance to full-time employees and to pay a payroll tax to cover part-time workers.
- Slowing the rate of growth in entitlement payments, such as Social Security, to a percentage point below the inflation rate.
- Encouraging business to make more long-term plans and to take more risks. This would include tax credits for research and development projects, elimination of requirements that companies file quarterly reports and reduction of the personal liabilities of corporate boards of directors. He also favors a temporary investment-tax credit to encourage business to make new purchases of plants and equipment immediately.
- Enacting the death penalty for some criminals, such as major drug dealers.
- Increasing the use of nuclear power. He says the total costs of using this power are less than those for conventional generating systems, which consume natural resources, pollute the atmosphere and increase U.S. dependence on foreign oil.
- Accelerating federal spending under the new transportation bill to give more Americans jobs building highways and mass transit systems.
- Extending unemployment benefits.
- Changing schools. He calls for merit pay and competency testing for teachers, school-based management and uniform testing standards for seniors to graduate. He also supports longer school and complete federal financing for Head Start and pre-kindergarten programs.
- Protecting the environment. Tsongas would charge a small fee to companies that consume virgin materials to encourage them to recycle. Gasoline taxes would be increased.

Tsongas is often criticized by political operatives for a low-key, self-deprecating campaign style they contend is non-presidential and does not go over well on television.

Tsongas brushes that aside with characteristic deadpan humor, saying, "I'm no movie star . . . even my dog knows that." Then he adds: "Look at the Japanese: Who was the last charismatic prime minister?"

MONDAY: *Republican Pat Buchanan.*

Evaluating Political Speeches

Political campaign speeches offer one of the best opportunities for voters to learn about candidates. The issues that candidates bring up, the personal characteristics they emphasize, and the leadership qualities and experiences they possess all contribute to the voter's understanding of how the candidate might lead if elected President. Most candidates during the campaign will develop a standard "stump" speech. This address, repeated to different audiences in different locations represents a carefully developed political message - the campaign theme. Use the framework below to identify key elements of stump speeches and identify the campaign themes.

Identify the Tone of the Speech

- Does the candidate relay a positive or negative message?
- Does the candidate focus on her or himself or does s/he turn attention to an opponent or other person?
- What emotion(s) is the speech designed to trigger?
- How does the speaker attempt to achieve the emotional effect?

Note Specific Promises or Factual Information

- Are there any specific proposals addressed or are issues discussed in general terms?
- Are the candidate's proposals realistic?
- Does the candidate cite specific facts or figures? If yes, are the sources of the information made clear?

Prime Emphasis

(Different candidates will stress different aspects of their characteristics and experiences in order to appeal to the greatest number of voters. Some will play up the idea of electability by mentioning opinion polls and demographics to demonstrate how well they would do in the race. Other candidates focus on policy appeal, highlighting their accomplishments and positions. Still others focus voter attention on personal attributes in hopes that these qualities will inspire confidence. Campaigns combine all three aspects but ultimately, one area receives more focus.)

- Approximately what proportion of the speech is devoted to:
    - * Personal Attributes/Candidate's Character
    - * Issues/Policy Preferences
    - * Electoral Prospects/Candidate's Electability

Summarize the Message

- Make an outline of the candidate's speech

Identify the Theme

- In ten words or less, construct the campaign theme evident in the speech

George BUSH

1992 campaign speech

President's thoughts about the nation, his opponent

A grand canyon divides me and my opponent on the issues. Two candidates, two very different philosophies.

I am proud to be here. It's the beginning — it's the beginning of a new era for America, and I'm proud to be the first president to visit Colorado and say, the Cold War is over, and freedom finished first.

But this election is about more than the past. It's about the future. It's about what kind of country we're going to leave for the young kids here today. And here's our challenge. In the next century, America must be not only a military superpower, but also an export superpower and an economic superpower.

And this year, you're going to hear two very different versions of how we get there, and I want to have us look forward to prepare our kids to compete, to save and invest, and to strengthen the American family. And if we can do this, when it comes to the new challenges of the '90s, America will finish first again. We have, and we will do it again.

A grand canyon divides me and my opponent on the issues. Two candidates, two very different philosophies. And you see it in every issue that we care about, education, health care, economic growth, creating jobs.

And my Agenda for American Renewal lays out the answers, shows us the way as clear as a Jeppeson data plan, and that is very, very clear, if you know anything about this company. I put my trust in the American people, the same people who made this country the greatest economic power the world has ever seen. And I want more competition to keep health-care costs down.

SCHOOL CHOICE

And I want more competition to give parents the power to choose their kids' schools — to make our schools the very best in the entire world.

But for my opponent, it doesn't matter what the problem is, he always sees the same solution. He wants more government mandates, more government regulations, and more government burdens on workers and businesses.

This is the text of a campaign speech given by President Bush on Sept. 18 to employees of Jeppesen Sanderson Inc. in Englewood, Colo. It is typical of the stump speeches he delivers while campaigning around the country. Bush offers an overview of his ideas for a second term, including his proposals for education, health care, economic growth and creating jobs.

And Governor Clinton wants to give government more power, and I want to give you, the American people, more power.

Governor Clinton wants to make the bureaucrat's life easy, to provide one-size-fits-all service in schools and in day care, and I want you to be able to choose your schools and choose your day care, so that we make your lives easier.

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

Now, business people here might be a little frightened of this one, but my opponent is for what they call an industrial policy, where government planners decide how high the American economy will go, and if you try to go any further, they'll tax you down to Earth. And I want to unleash the incredible power of entrepreneurial capitalism so you can climb as high as your dreams will carry you.

And that's what this debate is about, the role of government in America. It's not just the difference between big government and smaller.

TAXES

It's the difference between a big government that thinks it knows best and a smaller government that believes you know better. That's the fundamental difference.

And when it comes to taxes and spending, the difference couldn't be more clear.

I hold a firm belief that the government is too big and it spends too much of your money. And my opponent disagrees.

Governor Clinton has already called, and get this now, it's in his plan, for $200 billion in new spending, and Newsweek magazine says the real total could be three times higher. Right out of the box, he wants to raise taxes by $150 billion.

And, of course, he says we won't tax you. It's always somebody else, big corporations, foreign investors, the rich. He's even come up with a new twist.

He's going to tax jobs. A new training tax and a health-care system leading to a new 7 percent payroll tax, all to feed the overfed bureaucrats in Washington, D.C.

I didn't think you'd be enthusiastic about that.

They say I think that every day is the Fourth of July. Well, governor, I do. I do. I believe America's best days are ahead of us. But Governor Clinton seems to believe that every day is April 15.

And his tired, old tax-and-spend philosophy is wrong for this country. We all know that, because it's been tried before.

And it'll be like going back to the used-car lot, picking up the lemon you sold 12 years ago, only this time it would have higher prices on it from inflation, skyrocketing interest rates for credit, and a hot air bag thrown in. America, this is not the deal for you.

LEADERSHIP

Now, I want you to listen closely to him this fall, but you're going to have to do that.

Because on issue after issue, he takes one position and then another. He's been spotted in more places than Elvis Presley on these issues. Let me give you some specifics.

Take the issue, the question, of whether to stand up to Saddam Hussein, the defining test of American leadership in the post-Cold War world. Two days after Congress followed my lead, and I had to fight to get them to do that, he said, "I guess I would have voted with the majority if it was a close vote, but I agree with the arguments that the minority made."

Now, maybe that — maybe that's why he wants an Oval Office — he spends all his time running around in circles. You cannot do that.

You know, being president, the buck stops there. You can't be on all sides of every question, and when you're in that Oval Office, and when American lives are at stake, you can't take time out to check the latest opinion polls. I had to make the tough decision, and I'm proud of what America did in Desert Storm, and we did the right thing.

Now, how about one of the defining issues of the next four years — whether we're going to continue to open new markets, tap new consumers around the world so we can create more jobs here at home, right here in Colorado, right here at Inverness.

I know Americans aren't afraid of competition because when we compete fairly, we win. And where does Governor Clinton stand? It depends on who he's standing in front of. Sometimes he's for opening markets, but when he talks to the protectionist lobby, he whips out his saxophone and plays a different tune.

And they asked him about our new plan to open markets in Mexico, and here's what he said. "When I have a definitive opinion, I'll say so."

> **"We are a nation of special individuals, not special interests, and I believe our genius lies in our people . . . not in the government."**
>
> *— George Bush*

You figure it out. Before he went to the labor unions, he was for the [North American] Free Trade Agreement. When he went there, he had serious reservations.

On free trade, he backpedals faster than [Denver Broncos football player] Karl Mecklenburg. And I am going to continue to fight for new markets because — don't kid yourself — the American worker can still out-compete, out-think, and out-create anyone in the entire world.

LEGAL REFORM

And there is something else I want to do. I want to get rid of all these crazy lawsuits. They are costing our economy up to $200 billion in a single year and I think that's crazy.

And somebody asked me the other day, "An apple a day keeps the doctor away, what works for lawyers?" Now, my opponent doesn't think this is a problem. You've got Little League people that can't coach who are worried about suits, you've got doctors afraid to deliver babies, you have people out there doing good works, good Samaritan works on the highway, afraid they'll get sued if they stop to help somebody.

Now here's what the head of the Arkansas Trial Lawyers Association said: "I can never remember an occasion where he" — and that's Governor Clinton — "failed to do the right thing where we trial lawyers are concerned."

I don't want to do the right thing for the trial lawyers, I want to do right for the American people — and we have got to sue each other less and care for each other more. So these are some of the things that I'm fighting for.

> **"This election is about more than the past. It's about the future. It's about what kind of country we're going to leave for the young kids here today."**
>
> *— George Bush*

You see, I don't think America is a vast collection of interest groups to be appeased: trial lawyers over here, big labor over there, the environmental extremists on the other side, each clamoring for favors from Washington bureaucrats.

I believe we are a nation of special individuals, not special interests, and I believe our genius lies in our people, in our families, in our communities, not in the government.

In this election I'm asking for a mandate to return power to the people, to let government give you the means and then give you the chance to do it your way.

And if you believe in this mandate, if you believe in these ideas, then I ask you to pull together. For the next 46 days I ask you to join me and fight for free trade, fight for great schools, fight for giving power to the people. The polls may show us behind today, but I know we are going to be ahead in November because we have the right ideas.

We've done a lot. These young kids don't go to bed at night with the same fear of nuclear weapons and nuclear war that their brothers had or their sisters had, and that's good. That is good.

And we have the right ideas to renew America, to make America stronger, safer and more secure. Thank you, and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much.

GEORGE BUSH *is seeking his second term as president.*

WEDNESDAY: *Bill Clinton's stump speech.*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1992 campaign speech

Candidate's goals if he is elected president

If we value work, empowerment and family values, and personal responsibility, let's change the welfare system. Let's make it a second chance, not a way of life.

You are here today because you know how much is at stake in this election. We must go beyond the failed policies of the last four years and the last 12 years.

Four years ago George Bush said we would be better off today than when he was elected. Average annual income in Colorado is down by over $2,000. The number of families in poverty is up by 200,000. The number of children in poverty has increased by 60 percent. Hospital costs have increased by 162 percent. Are you better off than you were four years ago?

This president promised us 15 million new jobs. He is over 14 million short. This administration, which hates the government, has presided over a period when there has been a decline in employment in the private sector and now for the first time in American history there are more people going to work in government offices every day than in factories throughout the United States.

THE ECONOMY

For more than 10 years, literally two-thirds of our people have worked harder for less money. We have gone from first to 13th in the world in wages. We have quadrupled the national deficit. And at the same time somehow managed to reduce the amount of money we are investing in education and infrastructure and economic growth and high technology and research and development.

No one else could have figured out how to do that, but trickle down brought it to us. The president says that there are great differences between him and me. And, boy, is he right about that.

He said read my lips four years ago, and signed the second-biggest tax increase in history. After 800 days without an economic plan, as president he offered one which was nothing more than a warmed-over version of trickle-down economics.

We are better than that and we can do better than that. And with your help, we will do better than that.

I have done my best for nearly a year to offer the American people a new approach, one that goes beyond

[illegible]

trickle-down economics without going back to tax-and-spend economics, one that says we have to invest in our people, in their jobs, in their education, in their health care. We have to cooperate — government, business, labor and education. We have to compete so that we can win in the world economy.

I want to have an investment program for this country which, yes, asks the wealthiest 2 percent of Americans to pay a little more in taxes, but uses that money to say if you want to get it back, you can get it back, but no more across-the-board tax cuts; you can get it back if you'll invest in American factories and in starting small businesses and in putting the American people back to work, a real investment plan for the United States.

I want a new partnership between government and business and labor to develop the best ideas we have and turn them into jobs here in America.

DEFENSE CONVERSION

We have seen a decline in manufacturing employment over 1 million in the last 3½ years, as all the people who worked in the defense industries have felt the burden of defense cuts, but there has been no strategy to put them back to work in the domestic economy. Indeed, this administration has not even spent the money that Congress has approved to retrain workers and redirect communities and rebuild an economic base based on American jobs, building the American economy. But Al Gore and Bill Clinton will do just that.

Every dollar by which we reduce defense, we should spend in building an economy for the 21st century here at home in environmental cleanup and new technologies for transportation and a communications network of high-technology interaction that will link every home, every school, every factory, every business in America and put us in the lead economically well into the 21st century.

EDUCATION

Their idea of education reform is to get off the hook as quickly as possible. So they say the only thing we have to do is to let people take their tax dollars to private schools. I think private schools have an important role in our society. But their approach assumes that the public schools can't be fixed, that the private schools are perfect and that there is nothing wrong with taking limited public dollars and putting them into private schools.

Our schools can be fixed. That's the first thing, they can be better.

The second thing is that we already spend a smaller percentage of our income on kindergarten through 12th-grade education than nine or 10 other industrialized countries. We do not need to divert limited resources from that. What we need to do is to make a commitment to real excellence and a real reform and to roll up our sleeves and do the hard work.

I will join the battle to give you a real education presidency and lift the education standards of this country. Among other things it means this: It means every young person who does not go on to a four-year college should have access at least to two years of apprenticeship training so they can get good jobs, not dead-end jobs.

It means every adult in the work force should be given the opportunity to learn to read in the next five years and then the opportunity for lifetime, continuous permanent retraining so they don't have declining earnings year in and year out but they are lifted up. It means we should open the doors of college education to all Americans without regard to their income.

Instead of the present student-loan program, what if we had a national service trust and any American could borrow the money for a college education and pay it back either as a percentage of their income after they go to work, or by rebuilding America by working for two years as teachers, police officers, in housing programs, with the elderly, with people with disabilities, with the children? We could solve the problems of America with the brightest and best of our people and educate a whole new generation of Americans.

ENERGY POLICY

Their energy policy puts our country at risk. Their energy policy is cheap oil and nuclear power and hope nothing bad happens.

Our energy policy is: Use more natural gas, use more renewable resources, use more alternative fuels and get the same levels of energy conservation that our competitors do.

Their idea of cutting the $400 billion deficit is to give a $100,000 tax cut to millionaires and $50 to the middle class, and charging older people on Medicare $400 more a year and charging 3 million students $2,000 more for their student loans, and kicking a million people off their disability benefits.

My idea for the deficit is to cut nonessential spending, reduce by attrition federal employment by 100,000 and give it to the cities to put 100,000 police officers on the street in the next five years. Bring health-care costs in line with inflation by finally becoming the last advanced nation in the world to control health costs and provide basic health care to all Americans.

They say that they are for responsibility, empowerment and family values. Well, their idea of that was to stage a Republican convention in which one of their speakers called for a religious war, another said that those of us who disagree with them are not real Americans. They adopted a platform calling for a constitutional amendment to ban all abortions while the president and the vice president and the first lady were giving interviews saying they wanted choice for their families and a constitutional ban for everybody else.

FAMILY LEAVE

The president vetoed the family-leave bill after saying he'd give family leave. I believe in personal responsibility, empowerment and family values and here is my agenda.

Let's join the ranks of the 72 countries that give working people a little time off when there's a baby born or a sick parent. Let's have the Family Leave Act.

I can't understand it when Mr. Bush says that we're not as smart as the Germans or the Japanese or all the European countries, or all the other advanced countries. We just can't figure out how to control health costs and provide health care to everybody. I don't agree with that. He says we can't even do what 72 other countries do and provide family leave. I think we're better than that.

If we value work, empowerment and family values, and personal responsibility, let's change the welfare system. Let's make it a second chance, not a way of life. Let's invest more — let's invest more in education and child support and medical coverage for children and then require people to take jobs and give them public-service employment if the jobs aren't available.

> **"I want a new partnership between government and business and labor to develop the best ideas we have and turn them into jobs here in America."**
>
> *— Bill Clinton*

Let's make independence and support for families compatible. Instead of just throwing rocks at people who are poor, let's lift them up and make them independent. Let's have a tougher national child-support system so you can't cross a state line and get out of supporting your children. That would support family values.

GOVERNMENT'S ROLE

Let's recognize that we can be pro-growth and pro-environment. We can be pro-business and pro-labor. We can make government work again by making it more aggressive and leaner and more effective at the same time. And we can be pro-family and pro-choice. Let's bring this country together again.

How long can we go on denying that most people are working harder for less? How long can we go on denying that our health-care system is fundamentally broken? It's great for those who can access it, but we waste phenomenal amounts of money.

How long can we go on with a president who doesn't even want to talk about problems like homelessness and dysfunctional families and the AIDS epidemic, which has now infected over 1.5 million Americans with the HIV virus? How long can we go on?

I look out on this crowd, and I see at least half of you are quite a bit younger than I am. You've got more of your future facing you than I do. You have everything on the line in this election. You cannot permit yourselves to be part of the first generation of Americans to do worse than their parents because we did not have the courage to face the challenges of our lifetime.

Stay with us. Work with us. Lift this country up, and we'll win a great victory on Nov. 3. Thank you and God bless you all. Thank you.

BILL CLINTON *is the Democratic nominee for president.*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

On the stump: **TOM HARKIN**

◆

Economic plan to put people to work

I am running for president because this country is going in the wrong direction. George Herbert Hoover Bush hasn't the foggiest idea what is going on in this country, and even if he did, he wouldn't know what to do about it. Bush is totally out of touch with what is going on.

There is a hunger in the country for new leadership. The American people are ready for a new message of hope, confidence and unity. We have a shrinking economy, no hope and no jobs. Despair and depression all over this land. That's why we need a growing economy.

I have a solid five-point economic program: First, end Reagan-Bush trickle-down economics. Don't patch it. Throw it out. Second, invest in infrastructure; put our people to work on bridges and roads, and mass transit. Third, quit subsidizing the defense of Europe and Japan and bring that money back home. Fourth, stop the trade deficit and bring those jobs back to America. Fifth, put in place a program so that every American man and woman will know that if he or she loses a job they will be retrained for another job.

The economic programs that I'm talking about will put people to work right away. When you invest in a mass-transit system, for example, or rebuild a bridge, sure you hire the hard-hats, you hire the steelworkers and the people like that, but then there's also bookkeepers that have to be hired, there's also accountants, designers, architects, computer operators, all of these people have to be put to work. When they do that, then people have money in their pockets. They also take that money and they go shopping up and down Main Street. That means the Main Street businesses are doing better. That means they can hire more salesclerks and people like that. It gets the wheels of our commerce going again. That's what I call percolate-up economics.

I'm going to have an education program second to none — from early childhood education to making sure every child has the opportunity to go to college.

I'll sign a comprehensive health-care program for every American in the fall of 1993. The first president who campaigned for national health insurance was Harry Truman. What Harry started I'm going to finish.

CANDIDATE SPEECHES

This is another in a series of presidential candidate stump speeches

We should tell Japan either you buy more from us or you sell us less. I'd say to the Japanese: In five years you'd better reduce the trade deficit close to zero; if not, we're going to close our door to you. That's not protectionist. Last May I was the one who stood against Bush and the Republicans to try to stop them from sending half a million of our jobs to Mexico on a fast track over the last 10 years.

I don't intend to hold George Bush's feet to the fire. I intend to put them in the fire. He can't take the heat.

I have been whipping Republicans in Republican areas for 17 years. I didn't win by cutting and running, or by running like a Republican. I didn't win by giving up my fundamental values and my beliefs. I did it by being strong for what I believe in — those fundamental values of the Democratic Party: The best social program being a job. Hard work. Individual responsibility. Taking care of our families. Faith in God and love of country. And a care and concern for those less fortunate than ourselves. I have always taken those values to the Iowa voters, and I have won.

George Herbert Hoover Bush hasn't the foggiest idea what is going on in this country, and even if he did, he wouldn't know what to do about it. Bush is totally out of touch.

MARK MARTURELLO/THE REGISTER

The fundamental difference between me and the other fellows in this race is I am the only real Democrat. I have been the longest and strongest opponent of Reagan-Bush trickle-down economics. I have the longest record of consistently standing up for working people, young people and elderly people.

To those who say we have got to become more like Republicans to win, I say nonsense. If we are strong for what we believe in, they'll come to us.

If you want a Democratic president who is going to fine-tune Reaganomics, you don't want me.

If you want a Democrat who's going to get in there and shake things up, I'm your man.

THIS WAS *excerpted by Knight-Ridder Newspapers from speeches Iowa Senator Tom Harkin gave at a reception on Jan. 16, a Democratic debate on Jan. 19 and from a radio ad in New Hampshire on Jan. 22.*

On the stump: PAUL TSONGAS

Rely on a plan, not political rhetoric

CANDIDATE SPEECHES

This is the last in a series of presidential candidate stump speeches

I have been in six elections. I was never supposed to win. I was always written off. But when the smoke cleared, I won.

The basic economic reality that we face in this country is very simple. The Cold War is over; Japan won and Germany won and Taiwan won. And because of that, people are hurting and they're scared about the future.

The one thing I can offer to the voters is courage. I'm not for the middle-class tax cut because I know it doesn't work. I don't do Japan-bashing. What I've tried to do is to look at economic truth so people can look at me and know that I've turned down those easy opportunities.

I can bring this economy back because I understand it. I've been in the private sector for seven years. Ultimately people look at me and say to themselves that I can fly this economic plane because they can trust me to do what's right, to do what works.

Our economy is in a free fall and the presidential candidates have turned for answers to their key advisers — their pollsters. These pollsters have told the candidates what they think the voters want to hear about the economy. And the candidates have stepped forward obediently with an array of programs designed for political success, but which can only worsen our economic crisis.

We have had President Bush travel to Japan with a humiliating plea for charity. We have seen politicians trying to buy off the middle class with a 97-cents-a-day tax cut.

We have heard "traditional Democrats" attack the private sector, as if we could achieve full employment without employers.

The voters want a real economic plan. Political rhetoric is not enough. Protectionism might get someone elected, but it won't bring back the 70,000 jobs GM is cutting. It won't prevent foreclosures in New Hampshire or reduce the number of food-stamp recipients. It won't restore our economy to world leadership. We cannot compete internationally by bringing Japan or our other rivals down, but only by raising ourselves.

My plan is very simple. We must have a vibrant, competitive, thriving manufacturing base. This means highly paid Americans making the highest-quality products in the world and exporting those products all over the globe and bringing that money back home so there's prosperity in America. We have to be better than they are. And you're not going to bring about that kind of manufacturing base with 97-cents-a-day tax cuts for middle-class Americans. That doesn't add one penny to the productive capacity of America.

To jump-start the economy, there should be a temporary investment tax credit. This is the most effective way to generate spending. By limiting the credit to 12 months, we will encourage firms to spend now when our economy needs to be stimulated most.

The Federal Reserve Board should lower interest rates to help borrowers start borrowing again. It's important that banks show flexibility. We must discourage financial institutions from foreclosing on loans that stand a decent chance of being repaid.

Unemployment benefits should be extended. But the surest way out of our recession is to restore the public's confidence that our long-term problems can be solved. These problems require a plan that renews our manufacturing base, and legal reforms to encourage our corporations to take the long view, such as corporations in Germany and Japan do.

We should encourage investment with a targeted capital-gains tax cut to reward long-term investment, not like the Bush capital-gains cut that rewards investment in race horses the same as in high-tech start-ups. Research and development tax credits should be made permanent, and federal R&D funds should be re-oriented to promote commercial technologies.

These economic proposals are not simple or slick.

I've adopted this program not because it sells, but because it will work.

This year that may be just what the country is looking for.

MARK MARTURELLO/THE REGISTER

The basic economic reality that we face in this country is very simple. The Cold War is over; Japan won and Germany won and Taiwan won. And because of that, people are hurting and they're scared about the future.

THIS WAS *excerpted by Knight-Ridder Newspapers from a speech former Senator Paul Tsongas gave at the Democratic debate on Jan. 19 and in an op-ed article he wrote for the Boston Globe on Jan. 22.*

Presidential Character: Classifying Presidents

The following excerpts introduce three different ways of looking at the Presidency. Each of the three models uses a different focus to assist in the analysis of presidential candidates. ***Novak*** introduces eight basic qualities that Americans look for in a President. ***Rossiter*** identifies six presidents who serve as mythic images for future office-seekers to live up to. ***Barber*** relies on psychological profiles to classify presidents on two scales: Active/Passive and Positive/Negative. As you read each of the descriptions and use the models to analyze current candidates, think about other ways in which presidential candidates might be evaluated.

Novak's Presidential Qualities

Conservative political scholar and writer Michael Novak, in Choosing Our King: Powerful Symbols in Presidential Politics (1974), identifies eight traits that Americans seek in a President. As you read, notice that some of the characteristics contradict one another. How do voters resolve these conflicts?

The American people have seemed to love eight qualities in presidents. This does not mean they cannot learn to love new qualities, nor does it mean that this list exhausts what is required of a candidate.

1. ***Action.*** A reporter once asked President Johnson about his low standing in the polls. President Johnson replied that polls were the least of his worries. "Hell, I could either bomb Hanoi or fly Air Force One all the way to Peking to beg for peace. Either way the polls would shoot up twenty points." The people don't like uncertainty. Action rallies them.

2. ***Honesty.*** Since at least the time of Franklin Roosevelt, the people have come to expect intimate discussions (on television or radio) with their presidents. Even on occasions when presidents have told only a partial truth or even plainly lied, they have affected candor, for their hold upon the popular mind depends upon a bond of frankness. "Honesty" is perhaps too weak a word; the president depends upon the confidence - the latitude and energy - the people make available to him. The president is the people's voice. The bond of confidence between him and the people measures precisely his power over Congress and events.

3. ***Goodness.*** "President Eisenhower is such a *good* man!" it was said. He had a habit of plain speech, common sense, an attitude of goodwill toward others. He was a model of the virtues of small-town America. The fairness, integrity, decency, generosity, and incorruptibility he manifested have come to be much treasured. Americans like to think they are "a good people." So their alter ego must be "a good person."

4. ***Self-control.*** The president is often baited by opponents, hostile segments of the press, angry constituencies, hecklers, irreverent questioners. His ability to respond coolly and, if possible, with wit is much prized. In every campaign, a moment of confrontation unexpectedly arrives. Such moments are eagerly anticipated. The American imagination loves the ordeal of "High Noon," and cherishes the opportunity to watch its leaders under fire.

5. ***Genuine emotion.*** By contrast, the public also seems to want to "get behind" public images and catch a glimpse of its leaders' unplanned, unstructured emotional responses. "Give 'em hell, Harry!" people would encourage President Truman's lack of restraint. People seem to like a leader who can give rein to his emotions because he knows his emotions are trustworthy.

6. ***Administrative control.*** The way a leader organizes and disciplines his own staff is also a major public symbol. Are they all "yes men"? Are they unified, so that the people know who is in charge? Administrative skill was one of Eisenhower's strong points in the public mind, if not behind the scenes. John Kennedy created a new model of administration - bright, young, lively, creative, yet intensely in control. Even Nixon's disturbing centralization of control within the hands of three or four of his most intimate staff won support from many.

7. ***Decisiveness.*** A leader is expected to lead - and to lead instantaneously, without generating uncertainties in others. Timing is a fundamental ingredient in decisiveness. In emergencies, "What thou dost, do quickly!" is a maxim of critical importance.

8. ***An instinct for ends and means that are "characteristically American".*** There is what Clinton Rossiter calls "a grand and durable pattern of private liberty and public morality" within which an American president must operate. Even where there are no laws or well-charted seas, where precedents are lacking and unparalleled perplexities arise, the president must choose ways of proceeding that awaken in the public echoes of recognition.

Activity

1. Written in 1974, Novak's book is sprinkled with examples pulled from the Nixon presidency and the campaigns of 1968 and 1972. Think of more current examples (or non-examples) for each of the qualities described.

2. How well do each of the current candidates meet the public's demand for these eight qualities?

Rossiter's "Mythic" Models

Clinton Rossiter was one of the leading American scholars on the Presidency. In this selection from his book, The American Presidency (1956), he introduces six Presidents as "mythic models" for citizens to emulate and look for in future presidential candidates. The inclusion as a model has less to do with each president's actual performance in office than with an enduring public perception of the man as President and the ideals they seem to embody.

I call attention to the six ... who contributed most handsomely to the Presidency as it stands today. These men were more than eminent characters and strong Presidents. They were, or rather are, luminous symbols in our history. We, too, the enlightened Americans, feel the need for myth and mystery in national life - of magic parchments like the Declaration of Independence, of shrines like Plymouth and the Alamo, of slogans like "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight!", of hymns like "America," of heroics like Pickett's charge, of heroes like John Paul Jones. No one could have lived through Davy Crockett and deny the force of the American myth; no one can stand at Gettysburg and deny its meaning. And who fashioned the myth? Who are the most satisfying of our folk heroes? With whom is associated a wonderful web of slogans and shrines and heroics? The answer, plainly, is the six Presidents I point to most proudly. Each is an authentic folk hero, a symbol of some virtue or dream especially dear to Americans. Together they make up almost half of the company of American giants, for whom except Christopher Columbus, Benjamin Franklin, Daniel Boone, Robert E. Lee, and Thomas A. Edison in real life, Deerslayer and Ragged Dick in fiction, and Paul Bunyan and the Lonesome Cowboy in myth can challenge them for immortality? **Washington** the spotless patriot, **Jefferson** the democrat, **Jackson** the man of the frontier, **Lincoln** the emancipator and preserver of the Union, **Theodore Roosevelt** the All-American Boy, **Wilson** the Peacemaker - these men are symbols of huge interest and value to the American people ... **Lincoln** is the supreme myth, the richest symbol in the American experience. He is ... the martyred Christ of democracy's passion play. And who, then, can measure the strength that is given to the President because he holds Lincoln's office, lives in Lincoln's house, and walks in Lincoln's way? The final greatness of the Presidency lies in the truth that it is not just an office of incredible power but a breeding ground of indestructible myth.

Activity

1. Rossiter's book appeared in 1956, does his selection of six "mythic" presidents stand up today? Are there any Presidents not listed that you might include? Any listed who you might delete?

2. Name associate with each President listed (and any that you may have added). What adjectives come to mind when you think of each President?

3. How do current candidates compare to these models? Who are they each most like? Who are they trying to model themselves after? How successful are they in living up to the standards?

4. In your opinion, which mythic type do you think the U.S. most needs to lead the nation at the present time?

Barber's Presidential Character

In 1972, political scientist James David Barber published *The Presidential Character*. *This book is one of the most important and innovative works dealing with the presidency. Barber presents the thesis that the total character of the person who occupies the White House is the determinant of presidential performance. Barber believes that the way each of us has been psychologically molded during our early years has a direct impact on the decisions we make and the actions we undertake. Therefore, it should be possible, by looking at a candidate's past, to predict the type of president s/he might be.*

When a citizen votes for a presidential candidate he makes, in effect, a prediction. He chooses from among the contenders the one he thinks (or feels, or guesses) would be the best President. He operates in a situation of immense uncertainty. If he has a long voting history, he can recall time and time again when he guessed wrong. He listens to the commentators, the politicians, and his friends, then adds it all up in some rough way to produce his prediction and his vote. Earlier in the game, his anticipations have been taken into account, either directly in the polls and primaries or indirectly in the minds of politicians who want to nominate someone he will like. But he must choose in the midst of a cloud of confusion, a rain of phony advertising, a storm of sermons, a hail of complex issues, a fog of charisma and boredom, and a thunder of accusation and defense. In the face of this chaos, a great many citizens fall back on the past, vote their old allegiances, and let it go at that. Nevertheless, the citizen's vote says that on balance he expects Mr. X would outshine Mr. Y in the presidency.

This book is meant to help citizens and those who advise them cut through the confusion and get at some clear criteria for choosing Presidents. To understand what actual Presidents do and what potential Presidents might do, the first need is to see the man whole - not as some abstract embodiment of civic virtue, some scorecard of issue stands, or some reflection of a faction, but as a human being like the rest of us, a person trying to cope with a difficult environment. To that task he brings his own character, his own view of the world, his own political style. None of that is new for him. If we can see the pattern that he has set for his political life we can, I contend, estimate much better his pattern as he confronts the stress and chances of the presidency.

The presidency is a peculiar office, The founding fathers left it extraordinarily loose in definition, partly because they trusted George Washington to invent a tradition as he went along. It is an institution made a piece at a time by successive men in the White House. Jefferson reached out to Congress to put together the beginnings of political parties; Jackson's dramatic force extended electoral partisanship to its mass base; Lincoln vastly expanded the administrative reach of the office, Wilson and the Roosevelts showed its rhetorical possibilities - in fact every President's mind and demeanor has left its mark on a heritage still lively in development.

But the presidency is much more than an institution. It is a focus of feelings. In general, popular feelings about politics are low-key, shallow, casual. The presidency is different. It is the focus for the most intense and persistent emotions in the American polity. The

President is a symbolic leader, the one figure who draws together the people's hopes and fears for the political future. On top of all his routine duties, he has to carry that off - or fail.

The President's *main* responsibilities reach far beyond administering the Executive Branch or commanding the armed forces. The White House is first and foremost a place of public leadership. That inevitably brings to bear on the President intense moral, sentimental, and quasi-religious pressures which can, if he lets them, distort his own thinking and feeling. If there is such a thing as extraordinary sanity, it is needed nowhere so much as in the White House.

Who the President is at a given time can make a profound difference in the whole thrust and direction of national politics. Since we have only one President at a time, we can never prove this by comparison, but even the most superficial speculation confirms the commonsense view that the man himself weighs heavily among other historical factors. A Wilson re-elected in 1920, a Hoover in 1932, a John F. Kennedy in 1964 would have guided the body politic along very different paths from those their actual successors chose. Only someone mesmerized by the lures of historical inevitability can suppose that it would have made little or no difference to government policy had Alf Landon replaced FDR in 1936, had Dewey beaten Truman in 1948, or Adlai Stevenson reigned through the 1950's. Not only would these alternative Presidents have advocated different policies - they would have approached the office from very different psychological angles.

The core of the argument ... is that presidential character - the basic stance a man takes toward his presidential experience - comes in four varieties. The most important thing to know about a President or candidate is where he fits among these types, defined according to (a) how active he is and (b) whether or not he gives the impression he enjoys his political life.

The first baseline in defining presidential types is *activity-passivity*. How much energy does a man invest in his presidency? Lyndon Johnson went at his day like a human cyclone, coming to rest long after the sun went down. Calvin Coolidge often slept eleven hours a night and still needed a nap in the middle of the day. In between the Presidents array themselves on the high or low side of the activity line.

The second baseline is *positive-negative affect* toward one's activity - that is how he feels about what he does. Relatively speaking, does he seem to experience his political life as happy or sad, enjoyable or discouraging, positive or negative in its main effect. The feeling I am after here is not grim satisfaction in a job well done, not some philosophical conclusion. The idea is this: is he someone who, on the surface we can see, gives forth the feeling that he has *fun* in political life? Franklin Roosevelt's Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson wrote that the Roosevelts "not only understood the use of power, they knew the *enjoyment* of power, too ... Whether a man is burdened by power or enjoys power; whether he is trapped by responsibility or made free by it; whether he is moved by other people and outer forces or moves them - that is the essence of leadership." The positive-negative baseline, then is a general symptom of the fit between the man and his experience, a kind of register of *felt* satisfaction.

Both (dimensions) are crude clues to character. They are leads into four basic character patterns long familiar in psychological research. In summary form, these are the main configurations:

Active-Positive: There is a consistency, between much activity and the enjoyment of it, indicating relatively high self-esteem and relative success in relating to the environment. The man shows an orientation toward productiveness as a value and an ability to use his styles flexibly, adaptively, suiting the dance to the music. He sees himself as developing over time toward relatively well defined personal goals - growing toward his image of himself as he might yet be. There is an emphasis on rational mastery, on using the brain to move the feet. This may get him into trouble; he may fail to take account of the irrational in politics. Not everyone he deals with sees things his way and he may find it hard to understand why.

Active-Negative: The contradiction here is between relatively intense effort and relatively low emotional reward for that effort. The activity has a compulsive quality, as if the man were trying to make up for something or to escape from anxiety in hard work. He seems ambitious, striving upward, power-seeking. His stance toward the environment is aggressive and he has a persistent problem in managing his feelings. His self-image is vague and discontinuous. Life is a hard struggle to achieve and hold power, hampered by the condemnations of a perfectionistic conscience. Active-negative types pour energy into the political system, but it is an energy distorted from within.

Passive-Positive: This is the receptive, compliant, other-directed character whose life is a search for affection as a reward for being agreeable and cooperative rather than personally assertive. The contradiction is between low self-esteem (on grounds of being unlovable, unattractive) and a superficial optimism. A hopeful attitude helps to dispel doubt and elicits encouragement from others. Passive-positive types help soften the harsh edges of politics. But their dependence and the fragility of their hopes and enjoyments make disappointment in politics likely.

Passive-Negative: The factors are consistent - but how are we to account for the man's *political* role-taking? Why is someone who does little in politics and enjoys it even less there at all? The answer lies in the passive-negative's character-rooted orientation toward doing dutiful service; this compensates for low self-esteem based on a sense of uselessness. Passive-negative types are in politics because they think they ought to be. They may be well adapted to certain nonpolitical roles, but they lack the experience and flexibility to perform effectively as political leaders. Their tendency is to withdraw, to escape from the conflict and uncertainty of politics by emphasizing vague principles and procedural arrangements. They become guardians of the right and proper way, above the sordid politicking of lesser men.

Active-positive Presidents want most to achieve results. Active-negatives aim to get and keep power. Passive-positives seek love. Passive-negatives emphasize civic virtue. The relation of activity to enjoyment in a President thus tends to outline characteristics, to set apart the adapted from the compulsive, compliant, and withdrawn types.

The first four Presidents of the United States, conveniently, ran through this gamut of character types. (Remember we are talking about tendencies, broad directions; no individual exactly fits a category.) George Washington - clearly the most important President - established the fundamental legitimacy of American government at a time when this matter was in considerable question. Washington's dignity, judiciousness, his aloof air of reserve and dedication to duty fit the passive-negative or withdrawing type best. Washington did not seek innovation, he sought stability. He longed to retire to Mount Vernon, but fortunately was persuaded to stay on through a second term, in which, by rising above political conflict and inspiring confidence in his own integrity, he gave the nation time to develop the organized means for peaceful change.

John Adams followed, a dour New England Puritan, much given to work and worry, an impatient and irascible man - an active-negative President, a compulsive type. Adams was far more partisan than Washington; the survival of the system through his presidency demonstrated that the nation could tolerate, for a time, domination by one of its nascent political parties. As President, an angry Adams brought the United States to the brink of war with France, and presided over the new nation's first experiment in political repression: the Alien and Sedition Acts.

Then came Jefferson. He too had troubles and failures. As for his presidential character, Jefferson was clearly active-positive. A child of the Enlightenment, he applied reason to organizing connections with Congress aimed at strengthening the more popular forces. Jefferson combined a clear and open vision of what the country could be with a profound political sense, expressed in his famous phrase, "Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle."

The fourth president was James Madison, the constitutional philosopher thrown into the White House at a time of great international turmoil. Madison came closest to the passive-positive, or compliant, type; he suffered from irresolution, tried to compromise his way out, and gave in too readily to the "warhawks" urging combat with Britain. The nation drifted into war, and Madison wound up ineptly commanding his collection of amateur generals in the streets of Washington. General Jackson's victory at New Orleans saved the Madison administration's historical reputation; but he left the presidency with the United States close to bankruptcy and secession.

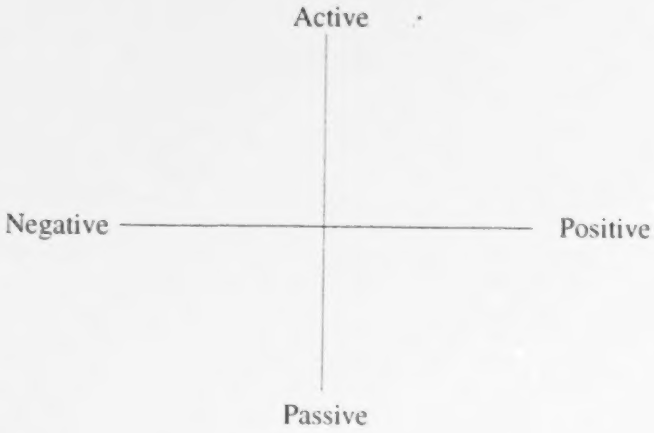
These four Presidents - like all Presidents - were persons trying to cope with the roles they had won by using the equipment they had built over a lifetime. The President is not some shapeless organism in a flood of novelties, but a man with a memory in a system with a history. Like all of us, he draws on his past to shape his future. The problem is to understand - and to state understandably - what in the personal past foreshadows the presidential future.

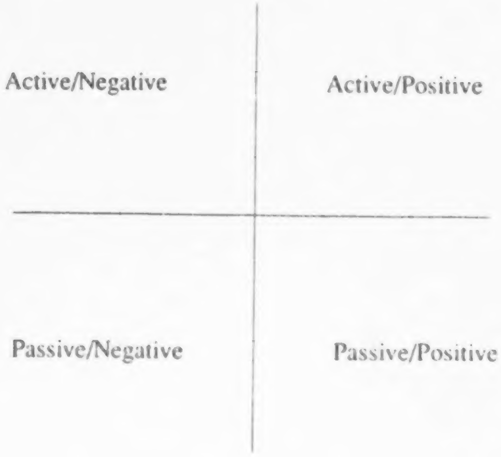
Activity

1. The chart below outlines Barber's classification of presidential character into four quadrants. Think about recent presidents (or ones that you have studied). Try to come up with at least one example for each type of character (other than the four mentioned in the excerpt).

2. Based on what you know about the current presidential candidates, try to place them in this same type of character study.

Presidential Character


Active
Negative
Positive
Passive


Active/Negative
Active/Positive
Passive/Negative
Passive/Positive

SECTION III

CAMPAIGN IMAGES & THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

CAMPAIGN IMAGES & THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

Critical Viewing and Campaign Advertisements

Introduction:
Television has played a predominant role in modern politics, allowing candidates to reach voters personally on a massive scale. Particularly through the use of televised campaign advertising, candidates have been able to craft images of themselves agreeable to a majority of the electorate. Because television is such a dominant force in politics and because political advertising capitalizes on the emotional pull of television, it is important to equip students with the skills necessary to critically analyze these political messages.

Relying on television to reach voters brings up a number of ethical concerns:

Truth & Responsibility - Campaign ads are a direct link between candidates and voters. There is no reliable filter to check the accuracy of assertions. Who should be responsible for checking facts and performing other truth-related functions?

Diversity - How does a candidate attempt to distinguish him/herself from others in a campaign using advertising? What is the range of diverse viewpoints available to the electorate?

Participation - Television has "democratized" American politics: increasing the influence of individual voters while minimizing the effects of back room deal-making. How has television effected voter participation? Candidate participation?

Justice & Equality - One drawback of televised political advertising is the expense involved. The production and airing of ads together comprise a significant portion of the overall campaign budget. How fair and how equal is the current free market approach to airing political ads? Is there a better alternative?

Liberty - Do political ads represent free speech? What limits, if any, might be placed on televised political spots?

Procedures:
1) Students read "Critical Viewing and Campaign Advertisements" and discuss generally the role of political advertisements in election campaigns. Have students think of recent elections and describe memorable ads. What made these advertisements memorable? (As an alternative ask students to describe current non-political ad favorites and tell why they think these ads are effective.)

2) Review with students "Types of Political Advertisements". Have students think of examples of each type of political spot.

3) Divide students into groups, with each group assigned a separate emotion described in "Targeting Emotions". Students within group brainstorm ideas for how they might portray the emotion using both audio and video symbols. Groups share ideas with whole class.

4) As a class step through the Critical Viewing Framework and analyze examples (current or past) of political advertisements. Note: it may take 3 or 4 advertisements analyzed as a class before all students are comfortable with the analysis process. You might have different students look for different elements at first. For example some students concentrate on the narration, others on the music, the props in the background, the camera movement and angles, etc.

5) Once students are comfortable with the analysis process, divide them into small groups to examine intensely a single ad each. Groups present ad and analysis to class. Discuss common elements of ads. Is there a predominant emotion used by all candidates?

6) Remaining in analysis groups, students become ad designers for candidates (real or fictitious) and create a storyboard for a campaign advertisement - What will be the campaign theme? What is the message of the ad? What emotion should be targeted? What devices will be used to create emotion? Groups share ideas with the class.

Sources of Additional Information:

Media Literacy & Critical Viewing

Articles:

Splaine, John, "Critically Viewing the Social Studies: A New Literacy" in *Louisiana Social Studies Journal*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, Fall 1989, pp. 15-18.

Splaine, John, "Critical Viewing: K-8" in *School Library Media Activities Monthly*, Vol. VII, No. 2, October 1990, pp. 30-32.

Splaine, John, "The Mass Media as an Influence on Social Studies" in *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning*, James Shaver, ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company: 1990), pp. 300-309.

Teaching Resources (Available through Social Studies School Service):

Living in the Image Culture: An Introductory Primer for Media Literacy Education. (Center for Media and Values: 1992)

Splaine, John and Pam. *Educating the Consumer of Television: An Interactive Approach.* (Critical Thinking Press: 1992)

TV Alert: A Wake-Up Guide for Television Literacy (Center for Media and Values: 1993)

Political Advertisements

Sources of Advertisements:

The best collection of political advertisements can be found in ***Classics of Political TV Advertising*** (Focus Media Incorporated) available through Social Studies School Service. In the past, **C-SPAN** has aired political commercials on Sunday evenings on their Road to the White House series. Otherwise, keep a fresh tape in your VCR and happy hunting!

About Political Advertisements:

Articles

Jamieson, Kathleen Hall. *Packaging the Presidency.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984)

Miller, Mark Crispin, "Political Ads: Decoding Hidden Messages" in *Columbia Journalism Review*, February 1992, pp. 36-39.

Rindy, Dean, "Zen and the Art of Campaign Media" in *Campaigns & Elections*, July 1992, pp. 53-59.

Splaine, John, "Televised Politics and the 1988 Presidential Election: A Critical View" in *Georgia Social Science Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1988, pp. 1-7.

"30 Seconds To Victory" in *Harper's Magazine*, July 1992, pp. 33-46.

Videos (available through Social Studies School Service)

Illusions of News: The Public Mind with Bill Moyers (PBS Video)

Television and the Presidency (Zenger Video)

The 30-Second President: A Walk Through the 20th Century with Bill Moyers (PBS Video)

CAMPAIGN IMAGES & THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

Reporting Campaigns & Elections

Press coverage of political campaigns poses one of the thorniest democratic ethical dilemmas. On one side of the issue are candidates for public office who attempt to gain voter support, but who also value their privacy. To what extent do candidates sacrifice privacy interests in the name of public service? On the other side are voters who cannot make rational electoral decisions without information about candidates. The public has a right to know, but the question is *what* do they have a right to know? To what extent do private issues affect public performance? In the middle of this conflict falls the media, whose job it is to gather information and present it to the citizenry for evaluation and analysis. The press has an obligation to relay facts about candidates to the public for their consideration. Moreover, the media have a right to do so under the First Amendment. But whether obligation or right, at some point the press must respect individual privacy. Where is this balance to be struck? The media, it seems, have been placed in a thankless position: accused on the one hand of not providing enough information and chastised on the other for digging to deeply. What is the proper role for the media in reporting on campaigns and elections?

Link to Key Democratic Concepts/Ethical Concerns:

Privacy - Do candidates sacrifice all privacy when they choose to seek public office? How much does the public have a right to know? How deeply should journalists dig into private affairs?

Responsibility - What is the level of responsibility of the media in providing campaign information? Should the press merely report campaign information to the public or should they investigate and analyze?

Truth - Do the media have an obligation to check out the truthfulness of campaign statements or is this up to each individual? If falsehoods or half-truths discovered, what is the proper remedy?

Participation - The quality of public participation in elections is enhanced by better information about the candidates and the issues. How fully should the media get involved in the campaign process? Do they play the role of outside observer or active participant? Is there room for compromise between these two extremes?

Equality - Do the media have an obligation to report on each candidate equally? What criteria is used to determine extent of candidate coverage?

Justice - Each election, one or more candidates invariably claim media bias. To conservatives, the media have a liberal bias; to liberals the press favors conservatives. Each individual candidate it seems claims that reporters have a personal vendetta against him./her. What is the standard for fair coverage? How can fair treatment by the media be insured?

Procedure:

1) Pose the questions: "What is the role of the Press in covering political campaigns? What responsibilities do journalists have to the candidates and to the voters?" Solicit responses and ideas from students. ("Journalists: On the Role of Political Journalists" may help to get students thinking about issues.) What questions would you ask a journalist about the relationship between Politicians, the Public, and the Press? Brainstorm question ideas and record. Do questions fall into any particular categories?

2) Invite a working member of the media to visit the classroom to be interviewed by students. Alternatively, ask a variety of reporters to respond to student questions in writing. (The same questions may be asked of politicians or candidates for public office.) Compare responses and discuss.

3) In small groups, students examine the scenarios posed in "Editorial Discretion." These hypothetical situations are loosely based on real campaign occurrences that challenge the boundary between the public's right to know and the individual's right to privacy. Students must make the decisions faced by editors everyday.

4) After groups have worked through the scenarios once, have them go back through, focusing on those hypotheticals that, as editors, they decided to wait on. Inform them that with further research the allegations/rumors have been proven to have some merit. What editorial decision will you make based on this new information?

5) Compare decisions with classmates and justify. What criteria was developed to make consistent judgments? Where should the line be drawn between respect for the individual's right to privacy and the public's right to know?

6) Divide students in 8 groups. Each group will be assigned either a Pro or Con position on one of 4 debate topics dealing with the role and responsibility of the media in politics. Allow sufficient time for groups to research the issue and prepare for debate.

7) Assigned student groups debate each topic in turn before the whole class. Following a modified debate procedure, allow each side a set amount of time to develop arguments and to respond to assertions made by the opposition. At the conclusion of each debate, audience (non-debating class members) vote to decide debate winner based on the strength of arguments heard.

Related Activity:

The videotape "Ethics in America: Politics, Privacy, and the Press" (Annenberg/CPB Collection) provides an excellent discussion of the role of the media in covering political candidates and public office holders, Shown either as an introduction to the topic or as a follow-up, the program is thought provoking and should generate a good classroom debate. The format of the program is excellent, with a moderator posing hypothetical scenarios to a panel of experts, and might be modified for classroom use.

CAMPAIGN IMAGES & THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

Critical Viewing and Campaign Advertisements

Television influences viewers in many ways. As both an aural and visual medium, it uniquely coordinates words and images in such a way as to play on emotions. Through the use of camera angles, quick cuts, compelling music and other technical manipulations, TV draws the viewer in to such an extent that s/he unquestioningly accepts televised messages as fact. It is little wonder, then, that television and politics have become so inextricably linked. Political television, especially campaign advertisements, rely on the creation of "feelings" to sell its products (candidates) in the same way that General Mills, for example, sells breakfast cereal.

The power of television is based primarily on passivity. Television does not require the viewer to do anything while watching - including think. In fact, the medium actively discourages intelligent thought by not allowing time to reflect on messages and information. Pictures and sound wash over viewers creating positive or negative feelings. Decisions (what to buy, what to eat, who to vote for) are subsequently made based on emotions rather than cold consideration of all of the facts. The challenge, then, is to become more active and critical viewers of television so that intellect might inform emotion. With a better understanding of how television affects us, we all become more informed consumers - of products and political information.

Over the past 25 years, the televised political advertisement has become the principal form of political speech in the United States. During a political campaign, ads take on an even greater importance. Only through paid TV ads can candidates be assured that their messages will be delivered to voters unfiltered, at a time and in a manner that the candidate controls. While in-person candidate appearances may be more effective, they reach a much smaller audience. While network news coverage is cheaper (free), the candidate cannot control the message or the "spin". Debates and press conferences are effective devices, but the candidates, themselves, do not set the agenda. Only paid advertisements combine all the necessary ingredients to get information effectively to voters.

There is no question that political advertisements are biased sources of information. After all, they are designed to advocate a particular point of view, establish a persuasive campaign theme, and build on attributes which inspire trust and confidence. Their goal is to be persuasive, not necessarily to be accurate.

The selling of candidates is not a new phenomenon; it's only become more pervasive with the use of television. Since the 1820's, political candidates and their handlers have attempted to sway voters with images and appearance rather than practical policy. In many ways televised political advertising is the direct descendant of the advertised messages carried in songs and on banners and other campaign paraphernalia. In 1840, for example, a wealthy Virginia landowner was successful in creating an image of himself as a common frontiersman, living in a log cabin and drinking hard cider, and was elected President based on that appearance. In 1904, Theodore Roosevelt was elected President, in part due to the imagery of a rough-riding cowboy wielding a big stick. These associations seem to have no direct bearing on what sort of president that candidate would make. Yet voters felt comfortable in making their decisions based on popular imagery and emotion. Are televised ads today really any different? Political candidates continue to link themselves with visual icons to create favorable feelings among the electorate.

Television certainly has heightened the role of candidate image and personality. As a form of communication, television is better able to focus and portray the concrete (real people, places and things) rather than the abstract (real ideas and complex principles). As a consequence, viewers respond to emotional images rather than rational policy. The public has become more interested in selecting a candidate that they can trust, rather than someone with whom they are more likely to agree programmatically. In some respects, this tendency is a positive force. Because it is impossible to predict what issues and crises will occur during the term, it is not always wise to choose a candidate based on what s/he promises to do in office. Character issues may be better clues to presidential performance. On the other hand, the reliance on image is troubling. The public often has only a minimal opportunity to truly judge a candidate's character. Moreover, political ad-makers can use tactics and the technology available to create whole new candidate personas based on what research reveals the voting public wants in a candidate. Faced with such a possibility, the only way for voters to protect themselves and to make informed choices is to become aware of the manipulation and to dig deeper for the truth.

Types of Political Advertisements

Ultimately, the goal of every political campaign ad is to create a positive feeling about a candidate and/or a negative feeling about another candidate. There are a number of different types of political advertisements. Each may be used at various times during the campaign to meet certain objectives. It is possible for a single ad to fall into a number of categories. Some of the basic types are described below:

Profiles - Used primarily at the beginning of a campaign, these are designed to acquaint voters with the candidate's values, vision, character, and experience.

Accomplishment Spots - An incumbent often uses this type of ad to tell voters what s/he has gotten done since the last election or to remind them of a long record of service. A challenger will sometimes use this format to tout achievements in a lesser office to show what might be possible.

Negative Record Spots - Voters want "facts" but they know that the information they receive from a candidate will be biased. Negative Record spots allow opponents to "set the record straight" and compare policy positions.

Issue Spots - Some campaign ads actually do concentrate on issues. Often these ads are coupled with negative record spots or focus on "safe" issues like patriotism or family.

Testimonials - Endorsements are sometimes an important ingredient in a campaign. If voters don't really know a candidate, they may base their decisions on who else supports the candidate. A testimonial from another politician, a celebrity, or an activist may result in votes at election time.

Character Challenges - More explosive than negative record spots, these ads directly call into question another candidate's fitness for office. This type of negative advertising has a great potential to backfire and call into question the character of the perpetrator.

Scare Tactics - These, the most volatile ads, use fear as a weapon against an opponent. They often focus on extreme consequences and are usually only used in desperation.

Response Spots - Increasingly, it has become more important to respond to "negative" ads run by an opponent. There is a feeling that charges left unanswered must be true. Many candidates combine response spots with attacks of their own.

Vision Spots - These ads take a variety of forms. At the beginning or end of a campaign a candidate may speak directly to the camera about his/her philosophy, policy, and beliefs. A candidate may put together a stirring video montage of his/her ideal America. Often a political party or organization puts together a vision spot for any sympathetic candidate to use.

Targeting Emotions

Campaign spots are carefully crafted to create a certain "feel". Very few elements in an ad are unplanned or accidental. Therefore, it is important to watch and listen closely to identify all elements that go into creating emotional impact. The "feeling" in a televised ad is the product of what you hear and what you see. By combining audio elements ("sculpting with sound") with visual symbols (people, places, things), it is possible to manipulate emotions. All political advertisements depend on the overriding emotion of Trust. To be successful, a candidate must gain the trust of voters.

Positive advertisements create trust by focusing on these related feelings:

Compassion - sympathetic awareness of others' distress and desire to alleviate it.
Ambition - urgency to get things done
Nostalgia - yearning for the past (presumably when things were better)
Reassurance, Comfort, Satisfaction - the feeling that everything is okay
Intimacy - close association, contact, or familiarity
Hope - desire accompanied by an expression of or belief in a good future
Pride - elation arising from some activity, possession, or relationship

Negative ads attempt to destroy trust in an opposing candidate by implication, comparison, or direct assault using the following:

Guilt - culpability for offenses, past and present
Fear - extreme anticipation or awareness of danger bordering on doom
Anxiety - an unpleasant emotion caused by awareness of a threat
Anger - displeasure or antagonism due to stated or implied harm
Uncertainty - feeling of unreliability or suspicion; questions relating to honesty

TRUST

Positive Spot (Create Trust)	Negative Spot (Destroy Trust)
Compassion	Guilt
Ambition	Fear
Nostalgia	Anxiety
Reassurance	Anger
Intimacy	Uncertainty
Hope	
Pride	

TECHNIQUE

What you HEAR
What you FEEL
What you SEE

Audio

Voice	Tone, accent, inflection all contribute to a feeling. Some candidates like to speak to voters "personally", others like their actions to speak for themselves. In negative ads, the candidate may want to distance him/herself from the attack.
Music	Music, by itself, is very emotional. When combined with pictures, the emotional impact is increased (think of music videos). How do different types of music convey different feelings?
Background	Many ads use ambient sounds to create a sense of action and movement. Other ads have no background noise, to focus the listener to what is said. Think about the different impact of applause, thunder, wind, or children.

Visual

Setting	Where does the ad take place - inside, outside, work, play?
Props	Think about certain props - flag, eagle, family photos, books - and what meaning they have to you. Look closely to identify "feeling" signposts.
Dress	Clothes are an important extension of personality. People have different modes of dress for different occasions. These styles give cues to others as to what we're doing and how we're feeling.
Action/ Interaction	What action is taking place? Is there more than one person? What are people in the background doing? How are they reacting to the main action or to the candidate?
Expression	Laughing, crying, grinning, scowling - each expression gives off a different feeling. Observe the people in the ads and their expressions.
Camera Angles	What the camera shows and how are two of the most important factors. A camera below gives viewers the sense that the pictured person is powerful. A downward angle gives the sense of less power. A direct shot represents honesty, the side view may give a feeling of insincerity. A wide shot may lessen the importance or it can create a sense of connectedness.
Colors	Predominate colors can help to create predominate feelings. Certain colors are warm, others cold. Black and White might be nostalgic

ANALYZING POLITICAL ADVERTISING
A CRITICAL VIEWING FRAMEWORK

1. Type of Spot:
   - Profile
   - Issue
   - Scare Tactic
   - Accomplishment
   - Testimonial
   - Response
   - Negative Record
   - Character Challenge
   - Vision

Audio

2. What Did You Hear?

   2a. What Was Actually Said During the Ad?

   2b. Who Said It - The Candidate or Someone Else?
   Describe Tone, Inflection, etc.

   2c. Was There Any Music?
   Type?
   When Start/Change/Finish?

   2d. Background Sounds?

Visual

3. What Did You See?

   3a. Props:

   3b. Setting(s):

   3c. Dress:

   3d. Action(s):

   3e. Interaction:

   3f. Expression(s):

   3g. Camera Angles:

   3h. Colors:

ANALYZING POLITICAL ADVERTISING
A CRITICAL VIEWING FRAMEWORK

Audio

1. What do the words tell you about the candidate/opponent?
   Are there specific words that seem more important in the ad?

2. Did the Candidate speak? If not, who narrated?
   Why do you think this announcer was chosen?
   Describe the speech style, tone, etc.

3. Was there music? What type(s)?
   How was the music used?
   Did it evoke a certain mood?

4. Was there any other background audio?
   What purpose did it serve?

Visual

1. What do the images tell you about the candidate/opponent?

2. What props were used in the ad? Why were these chosen?

3. Why was this particular setting chosen?

4. How were the people in the ad dressed? Why?

5. What activity or interaction took place?
   What did this action mean to tell you about the candidate/opponent?

6. What camera angles were used? Why?

7. Were there any dominant colors used?
   Why these colors?

Overall

1. What was the theme of the ad? (Summarize in 10 words or less.)

2. What is the feeling you get about the candidate/opponent from the ad?
   What emotions were targeted by this ad?

ADWATCH

End Welfare
As We Know It

TITLE/CANDIDATE: "Second Chance"/Bill Clinton

IMAGES: This 30-second ad shows Clinton at his desk in the Arkansas governor's office, headshots of him speaking, and close-captioned phrases overlaying the picture and echoing Clinton's text.

NARRATION: "For so long government has failed us," Clinton says, "and one of its worst failures has been welfare. I have a plan to end welfare as we know it — to break the cycle of welfare dependency. We'll provide education, job training and child care. But then those who are able must go to work. . . . In my state, we've moved 17,000 people from welfare rolls to payrolls. It's time to make welfare what it should be — a second chance, not a way of life."

FACTS: Since Clinton was first elected governor in 1979, the number of monthly Arkansas recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children has declined 14% while the number of recipients of food stamps increased 0.9%, according to figures from both state and federal officials. Nationally, for the same period, the number of AFDC recipients increased 34% and food-stamp recipients increased 36%. Clinton's Project Success, a welfare-to-work program has helped 17,000 people leave the welfare and food stamp rolls, according to state officials. But the number of new welfare recipients wasn't available.

ANALYSIS. Success rates for programs like Project Success are sometimes misleading because as people leave the rolls, others join, and some who leave may return. Amy Rossi, director of the non-profit Arkansas Advocates for Children and Family, says the program is generally a success but minimum-wage incomes are not always enough to support a family. "You can have a minimum wage income and still be in poverty," she says. This ad is no-nonsense and issue-oriented, but lacks any creative impulse that might grab viewers.

— Leslie Phillips

$220 Billion

AD: "Second Chance" — A TV spot sponsored by the Bush campaign that attacks Democrat Bill Clinton.

IMAGES: The ad runs at high speed with bluegrass music in the background. Quick-cut images show mobile homes, tourists, supermarket baggers, cash registers, all interspersed with scenes of Clinton bill-signing ceremonies. It ends with the white letters "Guess where he'll get the money" (to raise spending $220 billion) on a black background.

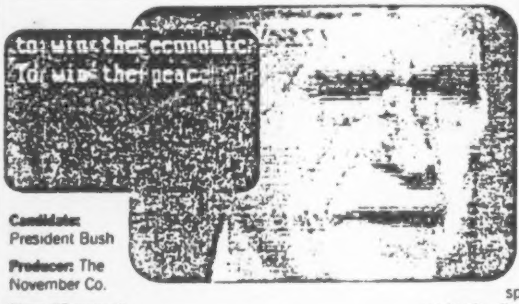
NARRATION: "To pay for his increased spending in Arkansas, Bill Clinton raised state taxes. And not just on the rich. He increased the sales tax by 33%. Imposed a mobile home tax. Increased the beer tax. Assessed a tourism tax. Created a cable TV tax. Supported a tax on groceries. And now, if elected president, Bill Clinton has promised to increase government spending $220 billion. Guess where he'll get the money?"

FACTS: Only three states have a lower tax burden than Arkansas, according to the Census Bureau. In fact, Arkansans were paying a lower percentage of their personal incomes in taxes in 1990 — 6.99% — than they were in 1980 — 7.66%. Clinton did raise the sales tax 33% in 1980. Then he raised it another 12.5% in 1991. Clinton did raise the tax on mobile homes and beer. He imposed a 2% sales tax on admissions to tourist attractions like amusement parks, and he oversaw imposition of a cable TV tax. Clinton did not impose nor does he support a sales tax on groceries; rather, he wants a rebate or repeal of the grocery tax. He argues that, because an income tax hike would require approval of 75% of the Legislature, he had to raise the sales tax.

Under Clinton's federal budget proposal, spending hikes add up to $220 billion over four years. But his plan estimates savings at $295 billion. Those figures don't include the cost of Clinton's health care proposal.

ANALYSIS: The visual content of the Bush ad is stunningly effective, combining MTV-type editing with high-spirited music to produce a wicked mockery of Clinton's record. The ad is clearly trying to scare voters into believing Clinton will tax them to death.

30-SECOND POLITICS



Candidate: President Bush

Producer: The November Co.

Time: 60 seconds

Audio: The world is in transition. The defining challenge of the '90s is to win the economic competition. To win the peace, we must be a military superpower, an economic superpower and an export superpower. In this election you'll hear two versions of how to do this: Theirs is to look inward, ours is to look forward. Prepare our people to compete, to save and invest so we can win. Here's what I'm fighting for: open markets for American products, lower government spending, tax relief, opportunities for small business, legal and health reform, job training and new schools built on competition ready for the 21st century.

Background: With pictures of warplanes taking off, a computer screen tapping out the script and music played in crescendo, this ad lends drama to an old message: Bush's acceptance speech last month at the Republican National Convention. While the president calls for "lower government spending," he has spent recent weeks announcing military contracts, disaster aid and farm subsidies in key states. Bush has also not said how he would pay for his $10 billion job-training program, his health care program or his proposed tax cuts, all touted here. The "open markets" line is a reference to Bill Clinton's refusal to embrace the North American free-trade pact, although that may be lost on many viewers.

—Howard Kurtz

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Journalists: On the Role of Political Journalists

The job for traditional journalists is to report and analyze candidates' messages and to ensure that they address the issues and are held accountable for their records and campaign promises.
- R.W. Apple (NY Times)

Reporters have become a barrier between candidates and voters rather than a bridge.
- Thomas Patterson (Syracuse Univ.)

Comfort the afflicted, Afflict the comfortable
- Old Newspaper Adage

We know what the issues are and we owe it to the public to go beyond the daily photo op hand-out and provide serious analysis of the positions of the candidates. The question is not, "Did the candidate do something today?"; of course he did. The standard must be, "Is what the candidate did today newsworthy? Or was it a video contrivance designed to be irresistible television?"
- Ken Bode (CNN)

Is there no limit on what we should feel free, or even obligated, to publish about people's private lives? Of course there is. I propose a simple test. Is this something that you believe a significant fraction of your audience will find politically relevant? Not just interesting (we all love gossip): Will it affect how people vote? If so, go with it.
- Michael Kinsley (New Republic)

If the private behavior of a public official was not criminal and did not adversely affect the conduct of that official's duties, it was no business of the press to report it... Before journalists slip the leash of journalistic propriety and tear off to sniff out the private lives of public people, they might consider a simple but fair standard of conduct - "If it's not impeachable, it's not reachable."
- Ross Baker (L.A. Times)

People who want to assume the public trust should be willing to give up their privacy on matters of money and illness ... But no public figure should have to bare his soul or take polygraph tests on personal morality as a condition of employment...The most effective immediate way (to halt overly intrusive prying) is for potential leaders to take the lead. That means having the wit to field embarrassing questions, the wisdom to respond to profound questions, and the courage to invoke the "go-to-hell" rule on intimate personal questions.
- William Safire (NY Times)

Editorial Discretion

You are the editor of a major national newspaper. A political reporter on your staff has brought to your attention the following rumors and allegations dealing with candidates for high public office. The reporter would like your advice on how to proceed with these stories. Remember, newspapers are a competitive business. Too much foot dragging may cause you to lose the "scoop". **First**, decide whether to run the story right away, wait to do more research (Should you wait 1 day, 2 days, 1 week, or longer?) or kill the story outright. **Second**, if you run the story, how much space in the paper will you devote? (news item = 1-5 column inches, brief article = 6-10 inches, regular news story = 12-20 inches, lead article/major story = 20+ column inches). **Third**, where in the newspaper would you place the article? [Front Page (p. 1), Campaign Report (p. 3), National News (p. 12), or Political Column/Editorial (inside back page)].

1. *Allegation by a woman that candidate had an adulterous affair with her for 12 years.*

2. *Rumor that 20+ years ago, candidate experimented with illegal drugs.*

3. *Rumor that candidate avoided draft using family influence.*

4. *Rumor of pending sexual harassment lawsuit against candidate.*

5. *Rumor of war crimes committed by candidate as soldier in WW II.*

6. *Allegation of link between candidate and on-going political scandal (e.g. Iran-Contra)*

7. *Rumor of candidate family member serving prison term for felony conviction.*

8. *Rumor that while in college candidate traveled to communist country and met with political leaders there.*

9. *Rumor that as a member of Congress candidate bounced checks worth thousands of dollars at the House of Representatives Bank.*

10. *Rumor that candidate made an off-color remark about a minority group.*

11. *Allegation by one candidate against another of plot to disrupt daughter's wedding.*

12. *Allegation that candidate spouse involved in insider-trading scandal.*

13. *Rumor that candidate, a big supporter of public education, sends children to private school.*

14. *Rumor that Pro-Life candidate's wife/sister/daughter/mother had an abortion.*

15. *Rumor that candidate was suspended and put on probation in college for plagiarism.*

DEBATE TOPIC 1

In choosing to seek elected office, candidates open their private lives to public scrutiny.

ISSUE: To what extent do candidates' private lives remain private?

PRO: The way a candidate conducts his/her private life offers a great deal of information about character and should be open to examination by voters.

CON: Only the public acts of candidates (namely their experience, past voting records, public issue statements, and conduct in office) should be considered by voters.

DEBATE TOPIC 2

It is the responsibility of the media to check facts and establish the truth of candidate statements.

ISSUE: Who has the responsibility to examine the truthfulness of campaign statements?

PRO: The media, as public watchdog, have an obligation to inform voters of the truthfulness of claims and allegations made by candidates during a campaign.

CON: The media serve as public records of statements and campaign conduct. It is up to citizens, themselves, to make sense out of competing claims and to vote accordingly.

DEBATE TOPIC 3

The media have no obligation to raise issues if candidates do not focus on them.

ISSUE: What is the proper role for the media in raising issues for campaign discussion?

PRO: The role of the media is to report on a campaign as it is conducted. By raising issues, the media become a campaign participant rather than a reporter of events.

CON: To a great extent, the media represent the citizens in a campaign. If candidates do not address issues of concern, the media must raise them on the voters' behalf.

DEBATE TOPIC 4

The media should conduct, report, and analyze public opinion polls.

ISSUE: Are opinion polls legitimate sources of information deserving of media attention?

PRO: Public opinion polls are important sources of information for voters and candidates. Poll results shed light on how well candidates are addressing voter concerns and alert individual voters to the extent of a candidate's support.

CON: Public opinion polls turn candidate and voter attention away from important issues and concerns by focusing on the "horse race" aspect of campaigns. Who's winning, who's losing, and by how much should not replace policy discussion.

SECTION IV

CAMPAIGN ISSUES & CONTROVERSIES

- Political Party Platforms
- Campaign & Elections - Legal Issues

CAMPAIGN ISSUES & CONTROVERSIES

Political Party Platforms

This set of activities involves student analysis of major party political platforms over time focusing on certain key domestic policy issues. Through critical study of party statements over time, students will understand better how the Republican and Democratic parties each interpret the basic democratic concepts that guide our nation.

Procedure:

1) Students examine the yearly summaries (1948, 1968, 1988, 1992) of party platforms.
   - For each year, which topics or issues did the two parties address in common? Which issues were different?
   - Within each party, over time, which issues come up consistently? Which issues appear less frequently?
   - What issues addressed are common to both parties in each year?
   - What might the inclusion or exclusion of issues indicate about the political climate of the day?
   - Does the order that issues are addressed tell you anything of their importance?

2) Students, divided into issue focus groups compare party positions over time. Six major domestic policy areas have been identified (Health Care, Civil Rights, Housing, Crime, Education, and the Environment). Each group will examine a single issue as addressed by both parties in each of the 4 years (1948, 1968, 1988, and 1992). Specifically, groups should look at how the issues have developed over time (what types of specific problems within the general topic areas arise?) and the differences and similarities in the solutions proposed by the parties.

3) Within each issue focus group, students attempt to chart on a continuum both the Democratic and Republican party's philosophical outlook, based on 5 fundamental concepts, on the issue in question. (See "Charting Party Philosophy")

4) Each group presents to the whole class and discusses the continuum for each issue. Discuss whether certain trends become apparent in the party philosophy analysis. Thinking of all 6 issues in general, have students chart the parties on the basic concepts in general. (For example, the Republicans, considering all issues, favor Equality of Opportunity over Equality of Condition. The Democrats, considering all issues, believe in a greater role for public institutions (Authority) than do the Republicans.)

5) Each student sums up, in his/her own words, the basic domestic policy of the Republican and Democratic parties. What is each party's general philosophy/outlook/approach to domestic issues? On what basic beliefs do they agree? On which do they differ?

Extra Research Activity:

In his analysis of campaigns from 1944-1976, Gerald Pomper found that winning presidential candidate fulfilled 72% of the pledges made in the party platform. Using the six domestic issues addressed in this section, how well did George Bush fulfill his 1988 pledges? To what extent is Bill Clinton upholding his 1992 platform?

CAMPAIGN ISSUES & CONTROVERSIES

Political Party Platforms

Political party platforms are statements of basic principles and policy proposals which address the key issues of the day or those topics expected to play a role in the upcoming election. Because they lay out each party's position in a concise way, platforms are an important aspect of the national agenda-building process.

Prior to their national conventions, both the Democratic and Republican parties form platform committees which consist of two representatives from each state. These committees conduct hearings throughout the country gathering information and impressions to be incorporated into the platform document. Any person or group may propose "planks" for consideration. Once the committees have gather ideas, they present a list of proposals to party planning groups. Specific language is drafted, voted on in committee, and presented to delegates at the national conventions for their consideration and approval. Disagreements usually are resolved through compromise, but the viewpoints of the candidates who have received the most delegate support have the greatest influence.

Platforms, then, fairly accurately reflect the current moods of the political parties and their candidates. In different years, the actual platform documents take different forms. In some elections, the party platform may be all inclusive; listing positions on a wide variety of issues in detail. In other years, the platform may include broad, general statements reflecting basic party principles. Regardless of their length or their scope, platforms are intended to maintain the loyalty of committed party members and attract the support of independent or undecided voters. Because of this dual purpose, the platforms tend to steer away from extreme positions which may alienate either group.

Professor Ronald Walters of Howard University has identified at least three crucial political functions that the party platform performs:

- The platform is a political document that functions in a campaign environment, providing the candidate with a base of issues upon which to campaign in various communities and allowing the candidate to define both his and the party's political philosophy.
- Platform construction binds campaign organizations together through compromise and act to heal any intra-party wounds inflicted during the nomination process.
- Platform elements reach out in an attempt to bind various constituency groups together. Later the platform becomes an instrument of issues accountability during the election and afterward if the candidate and the party wins.

Although they serve as important statements of principles and intentions during an election campaign, party platforms are not binding. Once in office, a President may choose to ignore pledges contained in the document. However, political scientist Gerald

Pomper (1980), in a study of platform pledges from 1944-1976, found that 72% were fulfilled through subsequent public policy decisions of the winning candidates.

Overall, platforms can give citizens insight into the basic philosophy and beliefs of each political party during each election and over time. Analysis of platform specifics is an important process in understanding how each party interprets fundamental democratic concepts.

1948 Platform Summary - Comparison

Issues Addressed:
(in order of platform appearance)

Republican Party
National Security
Budget & Tax Issues
Small Business
Labor
Agriculture
Conservation
Natural Resources
Veteran's Issues
Housing
Elderly
Civil Rights
Anti-Communism
Electoral Reform
Women's Rights
Civil Service
Education
Statehood
D.C. Self-Rule
Foreign Policy
  - Foreign Aid
  - United Nations
  - Israel
  - China
  - Post-War Occupation
  - Arms Control
  - International Trade Agreements

Democratic Party
Foreign Policy
  - United Nations
  - Peace Treaties
  - National Security
  - Arms Control
  - Foreign Aid
  - Trade Agreements
  - Western Hemisphere Alliance
  - Israel
  - Support for Democracies

Inflation
Housing
Budget & Tax Issues
Labor
Social Security
National Health/Public Health
Education
Veteran's Affairs
Agriculture
Small Business
Natural Resources
Anti-Trust Enforcement
Free Enterprise
Civil Rights
Statehood
Women's Rights
D.C. Self-Rule
Atomic Energy
Freedom of the Press
Scientific Research
Civil Service
Anti-Communism
Military Strength

1968 Platform Summary - Comparison

Issues Addressed:
(in order of platform appearance)

Republican Party

Urban Development
Discrimination
Community Empowerment
Federal/State Partnership
Rural Development
Pollution
Housing
Transportation
Crime
  - Law Enforcement
  - Juvenile Crime
  - Research
  - Fed/State Cooperation
  - Drugs
  - Organized Crime
  - Corrections
  - Gun Control

Youth Voting
Selective Service/Draft
Education
Vocational Education
Educational Financial Aid
Jobs
Welfare/Poverty
Community Development
Health Care
Elderly
Veteran Affairs
Indian Affairs
Federalism
Electoral Reform
D.C. Self-Government
American Territories
Postal Reform
Courts
Economy
Small Business
Anti-Trust
Labor
Transportation
Agriculture
Natural Resources

Democratic Party

Foreign Policy
  - National Defense
  - International Alliances
  - Arms Control
  - Vietnam
  - Foreign Aid
  - United Nations
  - International Trade

Economy
Taxes
Agriculture
Small Business
Labor
Consumer Protection
Housing
Transportation
Communications
Space Program
Scientific Research
Poverty
Civil Rights
Indian Affairs
Urban Development
Rural Development
Jobs
Employment Standards
Elderly
Welfare
Health Care
Veteran Affairs
Education
Educational Financial Aid
Youth Voting
Selective Service/Draft
Pollution
Natural Resources
Bureaucracy
Fed/State Partnership
Civil Service
Campaign Reform
D.C. Self-Government
American Territories

1968 Platform Summary - Comparison (Continued)

Issues Addressed:
(in order of platform appearance)

Republican Party

Scientific Research
Space Program
Foreign Policy
    - United Nations
    - International Cooperation
    - Foreign Aid
    - International Trade
    - Foreign Service
    - Immigration
    - Economic Competitiveness
    - Western Hemisphere
    - International Alliances
    - Arms Limits

Vietnam
National Defense

Democratic Party

Crime
    - Law Enforcement
    - Organized Crime
    - Drugs
    - Fed/State Cooperation
    - Research
    - Respect for Rights

1988 Platform Summary - Comparison

Issues Addressed:
(in order of platform appearance)

Republican Party

Jobs
Opportunity
Taxes
Bureaucracy
Housing
Federal Budget
International Trade
Values
Health Care
Elderly
Homeless
Equal Rights
Labor
American Territories
Immigration
Ethics
Education
Scientific Research
Space
Crime
Drugs
Poverty
Urban Development
Agriculture
Rural Development
Energy
Environment
Transportation
Foreign Policy
- Western Hemisphere
- Soviet Union
- International Drug Trade
- International Alliances
- Middle East
- Foreign Aid
- South Africa
- Humanitarian Assistance
- International Terrorism

Defense
- Arms Reduction
- Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
- Technology
- Veteran Affairs
- Intelligence

Democratic Party

Economy
Government Spending/Investment
Family Issues
Trade/Competitiveness
Corporate Responsibility
Education
Drugs
Crime
Values
Civil Rights
Women's Rights
Immigration
Housing
Infrastructure
Health Care
Environment
Agriculture
Energy
Campaign/Voting Reform
D.C Statehood
American Territories
Foreign Policy
- International Leadership
- Defense Spending
- Promote Peace/Prevent War
- Arms Control
- Foreign Aid
- Intl. Treaties & Cooperation
- Human Rights
- South Africa

1992 Platform Summary - Comparison

Issues Addressed:
(in order of platform appearance)

Republican Party

- Family Issues
- Education
- Health Care
- Elderly
- Values
- Housing
- Welfare
- Crime
- Drugs
- Immigration
- Civil Rights
- Abortion
- Taxes
- Bureaucracy
- Government Spending
- Jobs
- International Trade
- Campaign Reform
- Agriculture
- Energy
- Transportation
- Environment
- National Security
  - International Alliances
  - Middle East
  - Western Hemisphere
  - China
  - Defense Spending
  - Military Readiness

Democratic Party

- Infrastructure Investment
- Research & Development
- Budget Deficit
- Defense Conversion
- Urban Development
- Agriculture/Rural Development
- Labor
- Education
- Educational Financial Aid
- Health Care
- Energy
- Civil Rights
- Family Issues
- Welfare
- Abortion
- Environment
- Campaign Reform
- Crime
- Drugs
- Gun Control
- Immigration
- Housing
- National Service
- National Security
  - Military
  - International Cooperation
  - Global Trade
  - Foreign Aid
  - Democracy Corps
  - China
  - Middle East
  - Human Rights
  - Global Environment

CHARTING PARTY PHILOSOPHY

On the charts below, indicate the points at which you believe the Republican and Democratic Party policies (on your issue of study) fall between the extremes. Assume the mid-point on each line represents an equal belief in the two end philosophies.

EQUALITY

(Of Condition) --------------------------------X------------------------------ (Of Opportunity)

RESPONSIBILITY

(Government) ----------------------------------X---------------------------------- (Individual)

AUTHORITY

(Public) --X-- (Private)

JUSTICE

(State) --X-- (Individual)

LIBERTY/FREEDOM

(Regulated) -----------------------------------X------------------------------------- (Unregulated)

Definitions

Equality:	Absolute equality between people or circumstances (condition) v. provision of an equal opportunity to accomplishment or to receive a benefit
Responsibility:	Who is primarily responsible for social conditions affecting an issue - the government/society at large or the individual?
Authority:	Who should assume primary control in the solution to issues the public or private sector?
Justice:	Who has the primary role in making sure policies are carried out fairly - the state (government) or the individual?
Liberty/Freedom:	All citizens enjoy certain rights. May these rights be limited or regulated by the government or are they absolute?

1948 Republican Platform
Health Care

Government should take all needed steps to strengthen and develop public health. Consistent with the vigorous existence of our competitive economy, we urge: strengthening of Federal-state programs designed to provide more adequate hospital facilities, to improve methods of treatment for the mentally ill, to advance maternal and child health and generally to foster a healthy America.

1948 Republican Platform
Civil Rights

Constant and effective insistence on the personal dignity of the individual, and his right to complete justice without regard to race, creed, or color, is a fundamental American principle.

One of the basic principles of this Republic is the equality of all individuals in their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This right of equal opportunity to work and to advance in life should never be limited in any individual because of race, religion, color, or country of origin. We favor the enactment and just enforcement of federal legislation necessary to maintain this right at all times in every part of this Republic.

We favor the abolition of the poll tax as a requisite to voting.

We are opposed to the idea of racial segregation in the armed services.

We recommend a constitutional amendment providing equal rights for women.

We favor equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

1948 Republican Platform
Housing

Housing can best be supplied and financed by private enterprise; but government can and should encourage the building of better homes at less cost. We recommend Federal aid to States for local slum clearance and low-rental housing programs only where there is a need that cannot be met by private enterprise or by States and localities.

1948 Republican Platform
Crime

Lynching or any other form of mob violence anywhere is a disgrace to any civilized state, and we favor the prompt enactment of legislation to end this infamy.

We pledge a vigorous enforcement of existing laws against Communists and enactment of new legislation necessary to expose the treasonable activities of Communists and defeat their objective of establishing here a godless dictatorship controlled from abroad.

1948 Republican Platform
Education

We favor equality of educational opportunity for all and the promotion of education and educational facilities.

1948 Republican Platform

Environment

We favor conservation of all our natural resources and believe that conservation and stockpiling of strategic and critical raw materials is indispensable to the security of the United States.

We urge the full development of our forests on the basis of cropping and sustained yield with cooperation of States and private owners for conservation and fire protection.

We favor a comprehensive reclamation program for arid and semi-arid areas with full protection of the rights and interests of the States in the use and control of water for irrigation, power development incidental thereto and other beneficial uses; withdrawal or acquisition of lands for public purposes only by Act of Congress and after due consideration of local problems; development of processes for the extraction of oil and other substances from oil shale and coal; adequate representation of the West in the National Administration.

1948 Democratic Platform
Health Care

We favor the enactment of a national health program for expanded medical research, medical education, and hospitals and clinics.

We will continue to aid the blind and other handicapped persons to become self-supporting.

We will continue to expand maternal care, improve the health of the nation's children, and reduce juvenile delinquency.

1948 Democratic Platform
Civil Rights

We favor legislation assuring that workers receive equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.

We commit ourselves to efforts to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination.

We again state our belief that racial and religious minorities must have the right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and equal protection of the laws, on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution.

We call upon Congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental American Principles: (1) the right of full and equal political participation; (2) the right to equal opportunity of employment; (3) the right to security of person; and (4) the right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation.

We recommend a constitutional amendment on equal rights for women.

1948 Democratic Platform
Housing

We shall enact comprehensive housing legislation, including provisions for slum clearance and low-rent housing projects initiated by local agencies. Adequate housing will end the need for rent control. Until then, it must be continued.

1948 Democratic Platform
Crime

We reiterate our pledge to expose and prosecute treasonable activities of anti-democratic and un-American organizations which would sap our strength, paralyze our will to defend ourselves, and destroy our unity, inciting race against race, class against class, and the people against free institutions.

We shall continue vigorously to enforce the laws against subversive activities, observing at all times the constitutional guarantees which protect free speech, the free press and honest political activity. We shall strengthen our laws against subversion to the full extent necessary, protecting at all times our traditional individual freedoms.

1948 Democratic Platform
Education

We advocate federal aid for education administered by and under the control of the states. We vigorously support the authorization for the appropriation of $300 million as a beginning of Federal aid to the states to assist them in meeting the present educational needs. We insist upon the right of every American child to obtain a good education.

1948 Democratic Platform

Environment

We pledge the continued full and unified regional development of the water, mineral, and other natural resources of the nation, recognizing that the progress already achieved under the initiative of the Democratic Party in the arid and semi-arid states of the West, as well as in the Tennessee Valley, is only an indication of still greater results which can be accomplished. Our natural resources are the heritage of all our people and must not be permitted to become the private preserve of monopoly.

We favor acceleration of the Federal Reclamation Program, the maximum beneficial use of water in the several state for irrigation and domestic supply.

We will continue to improve the navigable waterways and harbors of the nation.

We pledge to continue the policy initiated by the Democratic Party of adequate appropriations for flood control for the protection of life and property.

We shall expand our programs for forestation, for the improvement of grazing lands, public and private, for the stockpiling of strategic minerals and the encouragement of a sound domestic mining industry. We shall carry forward experiments for the broader utilization of mineral resources in the highly beneficial manner already demonstrated in the program for the manufacture of synthetic liquid fuel from our vast deposits of coal and oil shale and from our agricultural resources.

1968 Republican Platform
Health Care

We pledge the broadening of private health insurance and to review the operation of government hospital care programs in order to encourage more patients to utilize non-hospital facilities. Expansion of the number of doctors, nurses, and supporting staff to relieve shortages and spread the availability of health care services will have our support. We will foster the construction of additional hospitals and encourage regional hospital and health planning for the maximum development of facilities for medical and nursing care. We will press for enactment of programs for financing hospital modernization. New diagnostic methods and preventive care to assure early detection of physical impairments, fostering good health and avoiding illnesses requiring hospitalization, have our support.

We will work with states and localities to help assure improved services to the mentally ill in community settings and intensify research to develop better treatment methods. We encourage extension of private health insurance to cover mental illness.

While believing no American should be denied adequate medical treatment. we will be diligent in protecting the traditional patient-doctor relationship and the integrity of the medical practitioner.

We are especially concerned with the difficult circumstances of handicapped citizens who daily encounter architectural barriers which they are physically unable to surmount. We will support programs to reduce and where possible to eliminate such barriers in the construction of federal buildings.

1968 Republican Platform
Civil Rights

We must eradicate racism, hatred and violence. We pledge concern for unique problems of citizens disadvantaged in our society by race, color, national origin, creed, or sex.

1968 Republican Platform
Housing

Skyrocketing building costs and interest rates have crippled home building and threaten a crisis in the nation, endangering the prospect of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every family. We will vigorously implement home-ownership and recent certificate programs for lower income families. Economic incentives will be developed to attract private industry and capital to low-cost housing. By reducing interest rates through responsible fiscal and monetary policy we will lower the costs of home ownership. New technologies and programs will be developed stimulating low-cost methods of housing rehabilitation. Communities will be encouraged to adopt modern building codes. Research in cost-cutting technology through private enterprise will be accelerated. Innovative state and local programs will be supported. We will stimulate the investment of "sweat equity" by home owners.

1968 Republican Platform
Crime

Lawlessness is crumbling the foundations of American Society. Respect for the law is the cornerstone of a free and well-ordered society. We pledge vigorous and even-handed administration of justice and enforcement of the law. We must re-establish the principle that men are accountable for what they do, that criminals are responsible for their crimes, that while the youth's environment may help to explain the man's crime, it does not excuse that crime. We call on public officials at all levels to enforce our laws with firmness and fairness. We recognize that respect for law and order flows naturally from a just society; while demanding protection of the public peace and safety, we pledge a relentless attack on economic and social injustice in every form.

Republican leadership in Congress has:

- Provided funds for programs to control juvenile delinquency and crime;
- Created a National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice to conduct crime research and facilitate the expansion of police training programs;
- Enacted laws enabling law enforcement officials to obtain and use evidence needed to prosecute criminals, while protecting the rights and privacy of all;
- Secured new laws aimed at "loan-sharking", the intimidation of witnesses, and obstruction of investigations;

For the future, we pledge an all-out crusade against crime, including:

- Continued support of legislation to strengthen state and local law enforcement and preserve the primacy of state responsibility in this area;
- Full support of the law-enforcement agencies of the federal government;
- Improved federal cooperation with state and local law enforcement;
- Better coordination of federal law enforcement, crime control, and criminal justice systems;
- A vigorous nation-wide drive against trafficking in narcotics and dangerous drugs, including special emphasis on the first steps toward addiction- marijuana and such drugs as LSD;
- Total commitment to a federal program to deter, apprehend, prosecute, convict, and punish the overlords of organized crime in America, including full implementation of court-supervised wiretapping and electronic surveillance tools used against mobsters and racketeers;
- Protection against racketeer infiltration into legitimate business;
- Increased research into the causes and prevention of crime, juvenile delinquency, and drug addiction;
- Creation of a Federal Corrections Service to consolidate federal efforts and to assist state and local corrections systems;
- A new approach to the problem of chronic offenders, adequate staffing of the corrections system and improvement of rehabilitative techniques;
- Modernization of the federal judiciary to promote swift, sure justice;
- Enactment of legislation to control indiscriminate availability of firearms, safeguarding the right of responsible citizens to collect, own, and use firearms for legitimate purposes, retaining primary responsibility at the state level, with such federal laws as necessary to better enable that states to meet their responsibilities.

1968 Republican Platform
Education

The birthplace of American opportunity is in the classrooms of our schools and colleges. Schools must offer programs of education sufficiently flexible to meet the needs of all - the advantaged, average, disadvantaged and handicapped alike. To help our educators meet this need we will establish a National Commission to Study the Quality and Relevance of American Education.

To treat the special problems of children from impoverished families, we advocate expanded programs for pre-school children. We encourage state, local or private programs of teacher training. The development and increased use of better teaching methods and modern instruction techniques such as educational television and voluntary bilingual education will continue to have our support.

To help assure excellence and equality of educational opportunity, we urge the states to present plans for federal assistance which include state distribution of aid to non-public school children and include non-public school representatives in the planning process. Where state conditions prevent use of funds for non-public school children, a public agency should be designated to administer federal funds.

Greater vocational education is required for a new technological and service-oriented economy. Young people need expansion of technical institutes to enable them to acquire skills for meaningful employment. For youths unable to obtain training, we propose an industry youth program, coupled with a flexible approach to minimum wage laws for young entry-level workers during their training periods.

The rapidly mounting costs of colleges and universities deprive many qualified young people of the opportunity to obtain a quality college education. To help colleges and universities provide this opportunity, we favor grant and loan programs for expansion of their facilities. We also support a flexible student aid program of grants, loans and work opportunities, provided by federal and state governments and private organizations. We favor tax credits for those burdened with the costs of higher education, and tax deductions to encourage savings for this purpose. No young American should be denied a quality education because he cannot afford it or find work to meet its costs.

1968 Republican Platform
Environment

In the tradition of Theodore Roosevelt, we promise sound conservation and development of natural resources in cooperative government and private programs. An expanding population and increasing material wealth require new concern for the quality of our environment. Our nation must pursue its activities in harmony with the environment. As we develop our natural resources we must be mindful of our priceless heritage of natural beauty.

A national minerals and fuels policy is essential to maintain production for our nation's economy and security. Present incentives, including depletion allowances, to encourage the discovery and development of vital minerals and fuels must be continued. We must recognize the increasing demand for minerals and fuels by our economy, help ensure an economically stable industry, maintain a favorable balance of trade, and encourage research to promote the wise use of these resources.

Federal laws applicable to public lands and related resources will be updated and a public land-use policy formulated. We will manage lands to ensure their use as economic resources and recreational areas. We will work with cities and states in acquiring and developing green space - convenient outdoor recreation and conservation areas. We support the creation of additional national parks, wilderness areas, monuments, and outdoor recreation areas at appropriate sites, as well as their continuing improvement, to make them of maximum utility and enjoyment to the public.

Improved forestry practices, including protection and improvement of watershed lands, have our vigorous support. We will improve water resource information, including an acceleration of studies. The reclaiming of land by irrigation and the development of flood control programs have high priority. We support ad multi-purpose water projects for reclamation, flood control, and recreation based on accurate cost-benefit estimates. We support efforts to increase total fresh water supply by research in weather modification and better methods of desalinization. We pledge more energetic control of (ocean) pollution, an increase in fishery resources, and international agreements assuring multi-national conservation.

1968 Democratic Platform
Health Care

The best modern medical care should be made available to every American. We support efforts to overcome barriers of distance, poverty, ignorance, and discrimination that separate persons from adequate medical services. We are determined to take the final steps necessary to make certain that every American, regardless of economic status, shall live out his years without fear of the high costs of sickness.

Through a partnership of government and private enterprise we must develop new approaches to stem the rise in medical and drug costs without lowering the quality or availability of medical care. Out-of-hospital care, comprehensive group practice arrangements, increased availability of neighborhood health centers, and greater use of sub-professional aides all contribute to the lowering of medical costs.

We will raise the level of research in all health fields, with special programs for development of the artificial heart and the heart transplant technique, development of drugs to treat and prevent heart diseases, expansion of task forces in cancer research, determination of the factors in mental retardation and reduction of infant mortality, development of drugs to reduce the incidence of suicide, and construction of health care facilities and hospitals. We must build and increase the capacity of medical, dental and medical service schools, to train doctors, dentists, nurses, and medical technicians.

Thousands of children die, or are handicapped, because mothers did not receive proper pre-natal medical attention or because infants were unattended in the critical first days of life. Maternal and child health centers, located and designed to serve the needs of the poor, and voluntary family planning centers should be established. Medicaid programs administered by the states should have uniform standards so that no mother or child is denied health services. We urge a program comparable to Medicaid to finance pre-natal care for mothers and post-natal care for children during the first year of life.

1968 Democratic Platform
Civil Rights

We commit ourselves to wipe out the stain of racial and other discrimination from our national life. We are a nation of many social, ethnic, and national groups. Each has brought richness and strength to America. We will not permit recent gains (The Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act) to be chipped away by opponents or eroded by administrative neglect. We pledge effective and impartial enforcement of these laws. If they prove inadequate, we will propose new laws. The enforcement provisions of the legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment should be strengthened. This will be done as a matter of first priority.

We recognize that freedom and equality require more than the ending of repression and prejudice. The victims of past discrimination must be encouraged and assisted to take full advantage of opportunities now opening to them.

1968 Democratic Platform
Housing

For the first time in history, a nation is able to rebuild or replace all of its substandard housing, even while providing housing for millions of new families. This means rebuilding or replacing dwelling units in our urban and rural areas, most in conditions of such dilapidation that they are dens of despair for millions of Americans. The goal is clear and pressing: a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family. To achieve this goal in the next ten years:

- We will assist private enterprise to double its volume of home-building.
- We will give highest priority to Federally-assisted home-building for low income families, with special attention to ghetto dwellers, the elderly, the physically handicapped, families in neglected areas of rural America, Indian reservations, territories of the U.S., and migratory worker camps. All federal subsidy programs - whether public housing, low interest rates, rent supplements, or direct loans - will favor disadvantaged families, with participation by the neighborhood residents themselves.
- We will cooperate with private home builders to experiment boldly with new production technology, with financial institutions to marshal capital for housing where it is most needed, and with unions to expand the labor force needed for a doubling of production.

Above all, we will work toward the greatest possible freedom of choice - the opportunity for every family, regardless of race, color, religion, or income, to choose home ownership or rental, high-rise or low-rise, cooperatives or condominiums, detached or town house, and city, suburban or country living.

We urge local governments to shape their zoning laws and building codes to favor consumers and hold down costs. Rigid enforcement of health and building codes is imperative to alleviate conditions of squalor and despair in deteriorating neighborhoods.

1968 Democratic Platform
Education

Education is the chief instrument for making good the American promise. It is indispensable to every man's chance to achieve his full potential. We will seek to open education to all Americans. We will assure equal opportunity to education and equal access to high-quality education. Our aim is to maintain state-local control over the educational system, with federal financial assistance and help in stimulating changes through demonstration and technical assistance. New concepts of education and training employing new communications technology must be developed to educate children and adults.

Every citizen has a basic right to as much education and training as he desires and can master even if his family cannot pay for it. We will marshal our national resources to help develop and finance new and effective methods of dealing with the educationally disadvantaged - including expanded preschool programs to prepare all young children for full participation in formal education, improved teacher recruitment and training programs for inner city and rural schools, the Teacher Corps, assistance to community schools encouraging pursuit of innovative practices, university participation in research and operation of school programs, a vocational education system that provides new ties between school and the world of work, and improved and wide-spread adult education programs.

We will fully fund Title I, which provides federal funds for improving education in schools serving students from low-income families. The financial burden of education continues to grow as enrollments spiral and costs increase. The home owner's property tax burden must be eased by increased levels of financial aid by both the states and federal government.

Expanding educational frontiers require a redoubling of efforts to insure the vitality of our higher education system - public and private, large and small, community and junior colleges, vocational and technical schools, and great universities. We pledge support for quality graduate and medical education.

We will enlarge scholarship programs to remove remaining barriers to post-secondary education for low income youths, and increase aid to students in the form of repayable loans out of future income.

We encourage support for the arts and the humanities to provide incentives for those endowed with extraordinary talent and to enhance the quality of our life. We recommend greater stress on the arts and humanities in elementary and secondary curricula to ensure proper educational balance.

1968 Democratic Platform

Crime

The fact and fear of crime are uppermost in the minds of Americans today. The nation is united in its concern over crime. In all forms and wherever it occurs. America must move aggressively to reduce crime and its causes. We are dedicated to the principle that equal justice under the law shall remain the American creed. Those who take the law into their own hands undermine that creed. Anyone who breaks the law must be held accountable. Organized crime cannot be accepted as a way of life, nor can individual crime or acts of violence be permitted. We pledge a vigorous and sustained campaign against lawlessness in all its forms - organized crime, white collar crime, rioting, and other violations of rights and liberties of others. We will further this campaign by attack on the root causes of crime and disorder.

We will continue and increase federal financial support and technical assistance to the states and their local governments to:

- Increase the numbers, the pay, and the training of local police officers;
- Reduce delays and congestion in our criminal courts;
- Rehabilitate and supervise convicted offenders, to return them to useful, decent lives, and to protect the public from habitual criminals;
- Develop and deploy advanced, effective techniques and equipment for public safety;
- Assure the availability of quick, balanced, coordinated control forces, with ample manpower, thoroughly trained and properly equipped, to suppress rioting;
- Encourage responsible and competent civic associations, business and labor groups to cooperate with law enforcement agencies in efforts to combat organized crime, build community support for police work, and assist in rehabilitating convicted offenders - and encourage police to cooperate with such groups and establish links of communication with the public, building confidence and respect;
- Establish and maintain open and responsive channels of communication between the public and police through creative police-community relations programs;
- Develop innovative programs to reduce juvenile delinquency;
- Promote the passage and enforcement of effective gun control legislation.

In all these efforts, our aim is to strengthen local enforcement agencies so that they can do their jobs. The federal government has a clear responsibility for national action. We have accepted that responsibility with these specific objectives:

- Prompt and effective federal support to suppress rioting;
- A concentrated campaign by the Federal government to wipe out organized crime: by employment of additional Federal investigators and prosecutors; by computerizing the present system of collecting information; by enlarging the program of technical assistance teams to work with state and local governments that request assistance; by launching a nationwide program for business and labor leaders to alert them to the problems of organized crime;
- Intensified enforcement, research and education to protect the public from narcotics and other damaging drugs: by review of federal laws for loopholes and difficulties of enforcement; by increased surveillance of drug traffic; through negotiations with foreign nations which grow and manufacture the bulk of drugs;
- Vigorous federal leadership to assist and coordinate enforcement efforts, to ensure that all benefit from the resources and knowledge essential to fight crime;
- Federal research to bring to the problems of law enforcement and the administration of justice the full potential of the scientific revolution.

In fighting crime we must not foster injustice. Lawlessness cannot be ended by curtailing the liberties of all Americans. The right of privacy must be safeguarded. Court procedures must be expedited. A respect for civil peace requires a proper respect for the legitimate means of expressing dissent. A democratic society welcomes criticism within limits of the law. Freedom of speech, press, assembly and association, with free exercise of the franchise, are among the legitimate means to achieve change. But when a dissenter resorts to violence he erodes the institutions and values which are the underpinnings of our democratic society. We must not and will not tolerate violence.

1968 Democratic Platform

Environment

These United States have undergone 200 years of continuous change and dramatic development resulting in the most technologically advanced nation in the world. But with rapid industrialization, the nation's air and water resources have been degraded, the public health and welfare endangered, the landscape scarred and littered, and the very quality of our national life jeopardized. We must assure the availability of a decent environment for living, working and relaxation. To this end, we pledge our efforts:

- To accelerate programs for the enhancement of the quality of the nation's waters for the protection of all legitimate water uses, with special emphasis on public water supplies, recreation, fish and wildlife;
- To extend the national emission control program to all moving sources of air pollution;
- To work for programs for the effective disposal of wastes of our modern society;
- To support efforts on national, state, and local levels to preserve the historic monuments and sites of our heritage;
- To assist in planning energy production and transportation to fit the landscape, to assure safety, and to avoid interference with more desirable uses of land for recreation and other public purposes;
- To work toward abating the visual pollution that plagues our land;
- To focus on outdoor recreation of those who live in congested metropolitan areas;
- To continue to work toward stronger measures for the reclamation of mined and depleted lands and the conservation of soil.

We pledge continued support of the Public Land Review Commission, which is reviewing public land laws and policies to assure maximum opportunity for all beneficial uses of public lands, including lands under the sea, and to develop comprehensive land use policy.

We support sustained yield management of our forests, and expanded research for control of insects, disease, and fires.

We plan to examine the productivity of public lands in goods, services, and local community prosperity, with a view to increasing such productivity.

We shall enforce existing federal statutes governing federal timber.

We support the orderly use and development of mineral resources on federal lands.

We will continue the vigorous expansion of the public recreational domain to meet increasing needs. We will add national parks, recreation areas and seashores, and create national systems of scenic and wild rivers and of trails and scenic roads. We will support a growing wilderness preservation system, preservation of our redwood forests, and conservation of marshland and estuarine areas.

Recognizing that the bulk of the task of acquisition and development must be accomplished at state and local levels we shall foster federal assistance to encourage such action, as well as recreational expansion by the private sector. To this end, we shall build upon the landmark Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, which has assured a foundation of a recreational heritage for future generations. We will assist communities to rehabilitate and expand in adequate and deteriorating urban park systems, and develop open space, waterways, and waterfront renovation facilities.

1988 Republican Platform
Health Care

Americans are accustomed to miracles in health care. The relentless advance of science has transformed the quality of health care and broadened the exercise of our compassion.

- We will promote innovation to ensure that tomorrow's miracles are affordable and accessible to all. Advances in communications, for example, have enabled small or isolated facilities to tap the resources of the world's greatest centers of healing. Many breakthroughs in recent years have dramatically reduced the incidence of surgery and replaced hospital stays with out-patient treatment.
- We will work for progress in providing the most cost-effective, high quality care.
- We will lead the fight for reform of medical malpractice laws to stop the escalation of malpractice insurance. It has artificially boosted costs for patients, driven many good doctors out of fields such as obstetrics and other high risk specialties, and made care unavailable for many patients.
- We are opposed to the establishment of government mandated professional practice fees and service requirements as a condition of professional licensure or license renewal.
- We will seek opportunities for private and public cooperation in support of hospices.
- We are committed to improving the quality and financing of long-term care. We will remove regulatory and tax burdens to encourage private insurance policies for acute or long term care. We will work for convertibility of savings, IRAs, life insurance, and pensions to pay for long term care.
- We will encourage the trend in the private sector to expand opportunities for home health care to protect the integrity of the family and to provide a less expensive alternative to hospital stays. We want to ensure flexibility for both Medicare and Medicaid in the provision of services to those who need them at home or elsewhere.
- We will foster employee choice in selecting health plans to promote personal responsibility for wellness.
- Recognizing that medical catastrophes can strike regardless of age, we empathize with the plight of thousands of American families with catastrophically ill children and will work toward making catastrophic health care coverage available to our youngest citizens.
- Recognizing that inequalities may exist in the current treatment of health insurance costs for those who are self-employed, including farmers, we will study ways to balance costs.
- We will promote alternative forms of group health care fostering competition and lower costs.
- We will make provisions for relief of rural hospitals and health care providers who have been burdened by federal cost containment efforts. The availability of health services is essential for rural America.
- We will continue generous funding for the National Institutes of Health.
- We will hold down Medicaid costs by promoting State pilot programs to give low-income persons the opportunity to secure health insurance. We demand tough penalties against providers who defraud this and other health programs.
- We will work to assure access to health care for all Americans through public and private initiatives.
- We will promote wellness, especially for the nation's youth. Personal responsibility in behavior and diet will dramatically reduce the incidence of avoidable disease and curb health care costs in decades ahead.
- We will call on the FDA to accelerate its certification of technically sound alternatives to animal testing of drugs and cosmetics when considering data regarding product safety and efficacy.

AIDS

Those who suffer from AIDS, their families, and the men and women who care for the afflicted deserve our compassion and help. We will vigorously fight AIDS, recognizing that the enemy is one of the deadliest diseases to challenge medical research. Continued research on the virus is vital. We will continue to provide experimental drugs that may prolong life. We will establish within the FDA a process for expedited review of drugs which may benefit AIDS patients. We will allow supervised usage of experimental treatments.

We must not only marshal our scientific resources against AIDS, but must protect those who do not have the disease. In this regard, education plays a critical role. AIDS education should emphasize that abstinence from drug abuse and sexual activity outside of marriage is the safest way to avoid infection. It is extremely important that testing and contact tracing measures be carried out and be appropriately confidential, as is the case with the long-standing public health measures to control other communicable diseases that are less dangerous than AIDS.

We will remove barriers to making use of one's own (autologous) blood or blood from a designated donor, and we call for penalties for knowingly donating tainted blood or otherwise deliberately endangering others.

The latency period between infection with the virus and the onset of AIDS can be lengthy. People should be encouraged to seek early diagnosis and to remain on the job or in school as long as they are functionally capable.

Healthy Children, Healthy Families

As we strengthen the American family, we improve the health of the nation. From prenatal care to old age, strong family life is the linchpin of wellness and compassion. This is especially important with regard to babies. We have reduced infant mortality, but it remains a serious problem in areas where alcohol, drugs, and neglect take a fearful toll on newborns. We will target federal health programs to help mothers and infants get a good start in life. We will assist neighborhood institutions, including religious groups, in reaching out to those on the margins of society to save their children, especially from fetal alcohol syndrome, the major cause of birth defects in this country.

Inadequate prenatal care for expectant mothers is the cause of untold numbers of premature and low birth-weight babies. These newborns start life at severe disadvantage and often require massive health care investments to have a chance at a normal childhood. We endorse the provision of adequate prenatal care for all expectant mothers, especially the poor and young.

We hail the way fetal medicine is revolutionizing care of children and dramatically expanding our knowledge of human development. Accordingly, we call for fetal protection, both in the work place and in scientific research.

Many of the health problems of young people today stem from poverty, moral confusion, and family disruption. Republicans are ready to address the root causes of today's youth crisis:

- We will assert absolutes of right and wrong concerning drug abuse and other forms of self-destructive behavior.
- We will require parental consent for unemancipated minors to receive contraceptives from federally funded family planning clinics.
- We support efforts like the Adolescent Family Life program to teach teens the traditional values of restraint and the sanctity of marriage.
- We urge all branches of the entertainment and communications industry to exercise greater responsibility in addressing the youth market.

To prepare for tomorrow's expanding opportunities, today's young Americans must be challenged by high values with the support that comes from strong families. That is the surest way to guide them to their own affirmation of life.

1988 Republican Platform

Civil Rights

With its message of economic growth and opportunity, the GOP is the champion of blacks, minorities, women and ethnic Americans. A free economy defeats discrimination by fostering opportunity for all. Republicans stand for the worth of every person. We support pluralism and diversity that have been part of our country's greatness. "Deep in our hearts, we do believe":

- That bigotry has no place in American life. We denounce persons, organizations, publications, and movements which practice or promote racism, anti-Semitism or religious intolerance.
- That the Pledge of Allegiance should be recited daily in schools. Students who learn we are "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all" will shun the politics of fear.
- In equal rights for all. We will continue our vigorous enforcement of statutes to prevent illegal discrimination on the basis of sex, race, creed or national origin.
- In guaranteeing opportunity. We resist efforts to replace equal rights with quota systems and preferential treatment.
- In defending religious freedom. We support the right of students to engage in voluntary prayer. We call for equal access to school facilities by student religious groups.
- That the unborn child has a fundamental right to life which cannot be infringed. We support a human life amendment to the Constitution, and endorse legislation to make clear that Fourteenth Amendment protections apply to unborn children. We oppose public revenues for abortion and will eliminate funding for organizations which advocate and support abortion. We commend efforts of individuals, religious and private organizations providing alternatives to abortion by meeting physical, emotional, and financial needs of pregnant women and offering adoption services where needed.
- That churches, religious schools and other religious institutions should not be taxed. We reject as wrong, bigoted, and a massive violation of the First Amendment the current attempt by the ACLU to tax the Catholic Church or any other religious institutions it targets in the future.

We renew our commitment to equal rights for women. We must remove remaining obstacles achieving full potential and reward- not including the notion of federally mandated comparable worth,.

1988 Republican Platform
Housing

The best housing policy is sound economic policy. Low interest and inflation rates, and the availability of good paying jobs that make mortgages affordable are the best housing programs. We want to foster greater choice in housing for all:

- Republicans defend the homeowner's deduction for mortgage interest.
- We continue our drive for lower interest rates.
- We support efforts to fight for lower property taxes, which strike hardest at the poor, the elderly, families with children, and family farmers.
- We support programs to allow low-income families to earn possession of their homes through homesteading, cooperative ventures in construction and rehabilitation, and other projects that demonstrate the vitality of private sector and individual initiative.
- We support the FHA mortgage insurance program, the Government National Mortgage Association, the VA guarantee program, and other programs enhancing housing choices for all.
- We will expand opportunities for home ownership and maintain the strength of savings institutions.
- We call on federal departments to develop incentives for the private sector to bring housing stock foreclosed on by federal agencies back into service for low- and moderate-income citizens.
- We call for repeal of rent control laws, which cause a shortage of decent housing by favoring the affluent with low rents, denying persons with modest incomes access to the market.

In public housing, we have promoted a long-range program of tenant management with encouraging results. We will continue that drive and move toward resident ownership of public housing.

We are determined to replace hand-out housing with vouchers that will make low-income families neighbors in communities, not strangers in projects. To ensure that federal housing funds assist communities, we advocate merging programs into block grants to localities for a wide range of needs.

We reaffirm our commitment to open housing as an essential part of the opportunity we seek for all. The Reagan-Bush Administration sponsored a major strengthening of the federal fair housing law. We will enforce it vigorously and will not allow its distortion into quotas or controls.

1988 Republican Platform

Crime

Republicans want a free and open society for every American. That means more than economic advancement. It requires the safety and security of persons and property. It demands an end to crime.

Republicans stand with the men and women who put their lives on the line every day, in State and local police forces and in federal law enforcement agencies. We are determined to reestablish safety in the streets of those communities where the poor, hard-working, and the elderly now live in fear. We will forge ahead with the Republican anti-crime agenda:

- Republicans oppose furloughs for those criminals convicted of first degree murder and others who are serving a life sentence without possibility of parole. We believe that victims' rights should not be accorded less importance than those of convicted felons.
- We will reestablish the federal death penalty.
- We will reform the exclusionary rule, to prevent release of felons on technicalities.
- We will reform cumbersome habeas corpus procedures, used to delay cases and prevent punishment of the guilty.
- We support state laws implementing preventative detention to allow courts to deny bail to those considered dangerous and likely to commit additional crimes.

The Republican Party is committed to a drug-free America. Our policy is strict accountability, for users of illegal drugs as well as for those who profit by that usage.

- We unequivocally oppose legalizing or decriminalizing any illicit drug.
- We support strong penalties, including the death penalty for major drug traffickers.
- User accountability for drug usage is long overdue. Conviction for any drug crime should make the offender ineligible for discretionary federal assistance, grants, loans, and contracts for a period of time.
- To impress young Americans with the seriousness of our fight against drugs, we urge states to suspend eligibility for a driver's license to anyone convicted of a drug offense.
- We urge school districts to get tough on illegal drug use by notifying parents and police whenever it is discovered.
- We encourage tougher penalties for those using children in illegal narcotics operations.
- We will require federal contractors and grantees to establish a drug-free work place with the goal that no American will have to work around drug abuse.
- We will suspend passports from those convicted of major drug offenses.
- To protect residents of public housing, we will evict persons dealing in drugs. We will foster resident review committees to screen out drug abusers and dealers. We will promote tenant management as the surest cure for the drug plaque in public projects.
- We will strengthen interdiction of foreign drugs and expand the military's role in stopping traffickers.
- We will work with foreign governments to eradicate drug crops in their countries.
- In a summit of Western Hemisphere nations, we will seek total cooperation from other governments in wiping out the international drug empire.
- In addition to enforcement activities, we encourage drug education in our schools. These programs should begin in the elementary school years, before children are subjected to peer pressure to experiment with drugs, and should continue through high school. Cutting down on the demand for drugs will be of great assistance as we increase enforcement efforts to reduce drug supply.
- We will encourage seizure and forfeiture programs by the Department of the Treasury and each State to take profits out of drug sales.

We commend our fellow citizens who are actively joining the war against drugs. Drug dealers are domestic terrorists, and we salute the heroic residents of poor neighborhoods who have boldly shut down crack houses and run traffickers out of their communities.

We recognize the need to improve the availability of drug rehabilitation and treatment.

1988 Republican Platform
Education

Republican leadership has launched a new era in American education. Our vision of excellence has brought education back to parents, back to basics, and back on a track of excellence leading to a brighter and stronger future for America. Because education is the key to opportunity, we must make America a nation of learners, ready to compete in the rapidly changing world of the future. Our goal is to combine traditional values and enduring truths with the most modern techniques and technology for teaching and learning. We commit ourselves to these principles:

- Parents have the primary right and responsibility for education. Private institutions, communities, States and the federal government must support and stimulate that parental role. We support the right of parents to educate their children at home.
- Choice and competition in education foster quality and protect consumers' rights.
- Accountability and evaluation of performance at all levels of education is the key to continuing reform in education. We must reward excellence in learning, teaching, and administration.
- Values are the core of good education. A free society needs a moral foundation for its learning. We oppose any programs in public schools which provide birth control or abortion services or referrals. Our "first line of defense" to protect our children from contracting AIDS and other sexually communicable diseases, from teen pregnancy, and from illegal drug use must be abstinence education.
- Quality education should be available to all children within their communities. Federal policy should empower low-income families to choose quality and demand accountability in their children's schooling.
- Throughout all levels of education we must initiate action to reduce the deplorable dropout rate which deprives young people of their full potential.
- Federal programs must focus on students at special risk, especially those with physical disabilities or language deficits, to increase their chance at a productive future in the mainstream of life.
- Because America's future will require increasingly competent leadership in all walks of life, we should provide our most talented students with special programs to challenge their abilities.

Based on those principles, the Republican agenda for better education looks first to home and family, then to communities and States. In States and localities, we support practical, down-to-earth reforms that have made a proven difference in actual operation:

- Choice in education, fosters parental involvement that is essential for student success. States should consider voucher systems or other means of encouraging competition among schools.
- Performance testing, both for students and teachers, measures progress, assures accountability to parents and the public, and keeps standards high.
- Merit pay, career ladders, or other rewards for superior teachers acknowledge our esteem and encourage others to follow their example of dedication to a profession critical to our future.
- Making use of volunteerism from the private sector and providing opportunity for accelerated accreditation for those with needed expertise broadens the classroom experience and encourages excellence.
- Expansions of curriculum to include the teaching of history, culture, geography and, particularly, the languages of key nations of the world is a necessity. To compete successfully throughout the world, we must acquire the ability to speak the languages of our customers.
- Excellence in teaching of geography is essential to equipping our people with the ability to capture new markets in all parts of the world.
- Discipline is a prerequisite for learning. Our schools must be models of order and decorum, not jungles of drugs and violence.

On the federal level, we will continue to expand horizons for learning, teaching, and mastering the future. We will:

- Protect the Pledge of Allegiance in all schools as a reminder of the values which must be at the core of learning for a free society.
- Use federal programs to foster excellence, rewarding "Merit Schools" which significantly improve education for their students.
- Urge local districts to recognize the value of pre-kindergarten programs.
- Direct federal matching funds to promote magnet schools that turn students toward the challenges of the future rather than the failures of the past.
- Support laboratories of educational excellence in every State by refocusing federal funds for educational research.
- Increase funding for Head Start to give children a fair chance, right from the beginning.
- Work with local schools and the private sector to develop models for evaluating teachers and other school officials.
- Support tuition tax credits for parents who choose to educate their children in private educational institutions.
- Establish public-private partnerships using Job Training Partnership Act funds to encourage youth to stay in school and graduate. The funds would be made available to local employers and businesses to hire high school students after school and during the summer with the requirement that they keep their grades at a "C" average or above until graduation.

In higher education, Republicans promote both opportunity and responsibility. We will:

- Keep resources focused on low-income students and address the barriers that discourage minority students from entering and succeeding in institutions of higher learning.
- Reverse the intolerable rates of default in the guaranteed student loan program to make more money available to those who really need to borrow it.
- Spotlight college costs and challenge administrators to exercise fiscal responsibility.
- Create a College Savings Bond program, with tax-exempt interest, to help families save for their children's higher education.
- Condition federal aid to post-secondary institutions upon their good faith effort to maintain safe and drug-free campuses.
- Insist that freedom of speech be afforded to all with a minimum of harassment.
- Continue education benefits for veterans of military service and advance the principle that those who serve their country in the armed forces have first call on federal education assistance.
- Continue to emphasize vocational-technical education. A large number of jobs in our society require secondary and post-secondary vocational-technical training. Federal programs and policies must recognize and enhance vocational-technical students.
- Support educational programs in federal prisons allowing prisoners the opportunity to become literate and to learn an employable skill. We encourage similar programs at the state level.

To compete globally, our society must prepare children for the world of work. We cannot allow 1 of every 8 17-year-olds to remain functionally illiterate. We cannot allow 1 million students to drop out of high school every year, most of them without basic skills; therefore, we must teach them reading, writing, and mathematics. We must reestablish their obligation to learn.

Education for the future means more than formal schooling in classrooms. About 75% of our current work force will need some degree of retraining by the year 2000. More than half of all jobs created in the 1990's will require some education beyond high school, and much of that will be obtained outside of regular educational institutions. Unprecedented flexibility in working arrangements, career changes, and a stampede of technological advance are ushering us into an era of lifelong learning. We support employment training programs at all levels of government. The placement success of such programs can be directly traced to their public/private sector partnerships and local involvement in program development and implementation.

/

1988 Republican Platform
Environment

We recognize that the preservation, conservation, and protection of our environment contribute to our health and well-being and that we all share the responsibility to safe-guard our God-given resources. We look to the environmental future with confidence in the American people and with a renewed commitment to world leadership in environmental protection. We recognize the necessary role of the federal government only in matters that cannot be managed by regional cooperation or by levels of government closer to the people. Cooperative action is needed to advance the nation's agenda for a cleaner, safer environment. We propose the following program for the environment in the 1990's:

- We will work for reductions in pollution and effective actions against the threats posed by acid rain. These goals can and must be achieved without harmful economic dislocation.
- We are committed to minimizing the release of toxins into the environment.
- We will continue the effort to develop new clean-coal technologies and to remove the barriers that prevent cleaner, alternative fuels from being used.
- We support a comprehensive plan of action to fight coastal erosion and to protect and restore the nation's beaches, coral reefs, bodies of water, wetlands, and other environmentally sensitive areas. The restoration of these areas will be a priority.
- A top priority must be the improvement of National Parks and wildlife areas. We must upgrade our recreation, fisheries, and wildlife programs in parks, wildlife refuges, forests, and other public lands. We support efforts, including innovative public-private partnerships, to restore declining waterfowl populations and enhance recreational fisheries.
- We will fight to protect endangered species and sustain biological diversity worldwide.
- We support policies, including tax provisions, which lead to renewal and revitalization of our environment through restoration and which encourage scenic easements designed to preserve farmland and open spaces.
- We believe public lands should not be transferred to any special group in a manner inconsistent with current policy. To the extent possible, we should keep public lands open and accessible.
- We will protect the productive capacity of our lands by minimizing erosion.
- We are committed to the historic preservation of our American heritage, including architectural, archeological, and maritime resources.
- We support strong enforcement of environmental laws and will accelerate the pace of national efforts to clean up hazardous waste sites and protect groundwater. We will promote proper use of fertilizers and pesticides to minimize pollution of groundwater.
- We will utilize the nation's scientific community to develop solutions to toxic and hazardous waste disposal as an alternative to the continued burying, exporting, and ocean dumping of these dangerous substances, as they are no more than stop-gap measures with extremely tragic potential.
- We are committed to solving our country's increasing problem of waste disposal. By 1995, half of our existing landfills will be closed, and municipalities will have increased difficulty finding new sites. This issue requires the dedication and resolve of local communities, the private sector, and citizens. Resource recovery, recycling, and waste minimization are critical elements of our solution, and we will work to ensure that innovative approaches to the problem are encouraged.
- We are determined to prevent dumping off our coasts and in international waters. Ocean dumping poses a hazard not only to marine life, but to those who live along our coasts and those who use them for recreation. Where federal laws have been violated, we will prosecute polluters to the full extent. Where laws need to be strengthened, we will work at all levels to do so.
- We will support all serious efforts to cope with the special problems of illegal dumping of hospital and medical waste. We pledge close cooperation by the EPA with States and industry groups to develop new approaches to the most cost-effective means for safe disposal by responsible medical facilities. Those who continue to dump illegally threaten the very life and health of communities, and we call for enactment by States of tough new felony laws that permit swift prosecution of these criminals.
- We will require that federal departments and agencies meet or exceed the environmental standards set for the private sector.

1988 Republican Platform - Environment (continued)

Many serious environmental problems confronting us in the years ahead are global in scope. For example, degradation of the stratospheric ozone layer poses a health hazard to all people around the globe. We will lead this effort by promoting private sector initiatives to develop new technologies and adopt processes which protect the ozone layer. A similar ability to develop international agreements to solve complex global problems such as tropical forest destruction, ocean dumping, climate change, and earthquakes will be vital. All of these efforts require strong, experienced leadership to lead other nations in a common effort to combat ecological dangers that threaten all peoples.

We all have a stake in maintaining the environmental balance and ecological health of our planet and our country. We must ensure that programs for economic growth and opportunity sustain the natural abundance of our land and waters and protect the health and well-being of citizens. As a nation, we take pride in our accomplishments and look to fulfill our obligation of leaving this land an even better place for our children and future generations.

1988 Democratic Platform
Health Care

We believe that all Americans should enjoy access to affordable, comprehensive health services for both the physically and mentally ill, from prenatal care for pregnant women at risk to more adequate care for our Vietnam and other veterans, from well-baby care to childhood immunization to Medicare; that a national health program providing federal coordination and leadership is necessary to restrain health care costs while assuring quality care and advanced medical research; that quality, affordable, long-term home and health care should be available to all senior and disabled citizens, allowing them to live with dignity in the most appropriate setting; that an important first step toward comprehensive health services is to ensure that every family should have the security of basic health insurance; and that the HIV/AIDS epidemic is an unprecedented public health emergency requiring increased support for accelerated research on, and expedited FDA approval of, treatments and vaccines, comprehensive education and prevention, compassionate patient care, adoption of the public health community consensus on voluntary and confidential testing and counseling, and protection of the civil rights of those suffering from AIDS or AIDS - Related Complex or testing positive for the HIV antibody.

1988 Democratic Platform
Civil Rights

We believe that we honor our multicultural heritage by assuring equal access to government services, employment, housing, business enterprise and education to every citizen regardless of race, sex, national origin, religion, age, handicapping condition or sexual orientation; that these rights are too precious to be jeopardized by Federal Judges and Justice Department officials chosen during the past years - by a political party increasingly monolithic both racially and culturally - more for their unenlightened views than for their respect for the rule of law. We further believe that we must work for the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution; that the fundamental right of reproductive choice should be guaranteed regardless of the ability to pay; that our machinery for civil rights enforcement and legal services to the poor should be rebuilt and vigorously utilized; and that our immigration policy should be reformed to promote fairness, non-discrimination and family reunification and to reflect our constitutional freedoms of speech, association and travel. We believe that the voting rights of all minorities should be protected, the recent surge in hate violence and negative stereotyping combated, the discriminatory English-only pressure groups resisted, our treaty commitments with Native Americans enforced by culturally sensitive officials, and the lingering effects of past discrimination eliminated by affirmative action, including goals, timetables, and procurement set-asides.

1988 Democratic Platform
Housing

We believe that the housing crisis of the 1980's must be halted - a crisis that has left this country battered by a rising tide of homelessness unprecedented since the Great Depression, by a tightening squeeze on low and moderate income families projected to leave seven million people without affordable housing by 1993, and by a bleak outlook for young working families who cannot afford to buy their first home. We believe steps should be taken to ensure a decent place to live for every American. We believe that homelessness - a national shame - should be ended in America; that the supply of affordable housing should be expanded to avoid the projected shortfall; that employer-assisted housing and development by community based non-profit organizations should be encouraged; that the inventory of public and subsidized housing should be renovated, preserved, and increased; that foreclosed government property should be restored to productive use; and that first-time home buyers should be assisted.

1988 Democratic Platform
Crime

We believe that illegal drugs pose a threat to the security of our nation, invading neighborhoods, classrooms, homes, and communities large and small; that every arm and agency of government at every level - including every diplomatic, military, educational, medical and law enforcement effort necessary - should be mobilized and coordinated with private efforts under the direction of a National Drug "Czar" to halt both the international supply and the domestic demand for illegal drugs now ravaging our country; and that legalization of illicit drugs would represent a tragic surrender in a war we intend to win. We believe that this effort should include comprehensive programs to educate our children at the earliest ages on the dangers of alcohol and drug abuse, readily available treatment and counseling for those who seek to address their dependency, the strengthening of vital interdiction agencies such as the Coast Guard and Customs, a summit of Western nations to coordinate efforts to cut off drugs at the source, and foreign development assistance to reform drug-based economies by promoting crop substitution.

We believe that the federal government should provide increased assistance to local criminal justice agencies, enforce a ban on "cop killer" bullets, reinforce our commitment to help crime victims, and assume a leadership role in securing the safety of neighborhoods and homes. We believe that the repeated toleration in Washington of unethical and unlawful greed among too many of those governing our nation, procuring our weapons and polluting our environment has made far more difficult the daily work of local policemen, teachers and parents who must convey to children respect for justice and authority.

1988 Democratic Platform
Education

We believe that the education of our citizens, from Head Start to institutions of higher learning, deserves our highest priority. History will judge the next administration less by its success in building new weapons than by its success in improving young minds. We now spend only two cents of every federal dollar for education. We pledge to better balance our national priorities by significantly increasing federal funding for education. We believe that this nation needs to invest in its children by expanding the availability of pre-school education for children at risk; to invest in teachers through training and enrichment programs, including a National Teacher Corps to recruit teachers for tomorrow, especially minorities, with scholarships today; to commit itself to the principle that no one should be denied the opportunity to attend college for financial reasons; to ensure equal access to education by providing incentives and mechanisms for equalization of financing among local school districts within each state; to reverse cuts made in compensatory reading, math and enrichment services to low income children; and to expand support for bilingual education, historically Black and Hispanic institutions, the education of those with special needs, the arts and humanities, and an aggressive campaign to end illiteracy.

1988 Democratic Platform
Environment

We believe that the last 7 years have witnessed an unprecedented assault on our national interest and security through the poisoning of our air with acid rain, the dumping of toxic wastes into our water, and the destruction of our parks and shores; that pollution must be stopped at the source by shifting to environmentally sound manufacturing and farming technologies; that government must promote recycling as the best, least costly way to solve the trash crisis, aggressively enforce toxic waste laws and require polluters to be responsible for future costs; that we must redouble efforts to provide clean waterways, sound water management and safe ground water; that national parks, forests, wildlife refuges, and coastal zones must be protected and used only in environmentally sound manners; that offshore drilling in environmentally sensitive areas be opposed; and that regular world summits be convened by the U.S. to address the depletion of the ozone layer, the "greenhouse effect", the destruction of tropical forests and other global threats and to create a global action plan for environmental restoration.

1992 Republican Platform
Health Care

We believe government control of health care is irresponsible and ineffective. We endorse President Bush's comprehensive health care plan, which will make health care more affordable through tax credits and deductions that will offset insurance costs for 95 million Americans and make health care more accessible, especially for small business, by reducing insurance costs and eliminating workers' worries of losing insurance if they change jobs.

We are determined to resolve the crisis in medical liability. Medical tort reform would ensure that doctors will not have to practice medicine under a cloud of potential litigation. We will reduce expenses and paperwork by adopting a uniform claim and data system. We pledge support for rehabilitation and long-term care coverage. We will curb costs through better prenatal and other preventive care. We support regulatory reform to speed the development of new drugs and medical technology.

The health care safety net must be secure for those who need preventive, acute and long-term care. We will enhance access to medical care through community health centers. We will modify outdated antitrust rules prohibiting hospitals from merging resources to provide cost-effective health care.

Through funding for NIH, we invest in research to cure a range of diseases. We support efforts which foster early cancer detection.

We encourage State legislatures to enact legislation which make it a criminal act for anyone knowingly to transmit the AIDS virus. We will seek to ensure that medical personnel, and the people who trust in their care, will be protected against infection. We must recognize, also, that prevention is linked ultimately to personal responsibility and moral behavior. Education designed to curb the spread of this disease should stress marital fidelity, abstinence and a drug-free lifestyle. We have committed enormous resources - $4.2 billion over the past four years for research alone, more than any disease except cancer.

1992 Republican Platform
Civil Rights

Asserting equal rights for all, we support the Bush Administration's vigorous enforcement of statutes to prevent illegal discrimination on account of sex, race, creed or national origin. Promoting opportunity, we reject efforts to replace equal rights with quotas or other preferential treatment.

Because legal rights mean little without opportunity, we assert economic growth as the key to the continued progress of women in all fields of American life.

We believe the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life that cannot be infringed. We reaffirm our support for a human life amendment to the Constitution, and endorse legislation to make clear that the Fourteenth Amendment's protections apply to unborn children. We oppose using public revenues for abortion and will not fund organizations that advocate it.

President Bush signed into law the greatest advance ever for disabled persons: The Americans with Disabilities Act. We will fully implement it with sensitivity to the needs of small businesses, just as we have earlier protections for the disabled in Federal programs. Republicans defend the constitutional right to keep and bear arms. We call for stiff mandatory sentences for those who use firearms in a crime.

We support self-determination for Indian tribes managing their own affairs and resources.

1992 Republican Platform
Housing

For first-time home buyers, President Bush has proposed a $5,000 tax credit. For lower-income families he has worked to restore opportunity through HOPE (Home Ownership Opportunities for People Everywhere), his initiatives to help tenants now dependent on federal aid to buy their own homes; Mortgage Revenue Bonds, to assist more than 1.9 million families to buy a first home; Low-Income Housing Tax Credits, already producing more than 420,000 decent apartments at affordable prices; and HOME, a partnership among all levels of government to help low-income families secure better housing.

1992 Republican Platform
Crime

We support the rights of crime victims to be present, heard and informed throughout the criminal justice process and to be provided with restitution and services to aid their recovery.

Law enforcement must remain primarily a State and a local responsibility. We have led efforts to increase the number of police protecting our citizens.

President Bush, for the first time, used the resources of our armed forces against the international drug trade. By our insistence, multilateral control of precursor chemicals and money laundering is now an international priority. We support efforts to work with South and Central American leaders to eradicate crops used to produce illegal narcotics.

During the last 12 years, we have vastly increased Federal operations against drugs, cleaned up the military and launched mandatory testing for employees in various fields. We oppose legalizing or decriminalizing drugs. We support the stiffest penalties, including the death penalty, for major drug traffickers. Drug users must face punishment, including fines and imprisonment, for contributing to the demand that makes the drug trade profitable.

White-collar crimes threatens homes and families in a different way. It steals secretly, forcing up prices, rigging contracts, swindling consumers and harming the overwhelming majority of business people who play fair and obey the law. We support imprisonment for those who steal from the people.

1992 Republican Platform
Education

Parents have the right to choose the best school for their children. Schools should teach right from wrong and reinforce parental authority, not replace it. We should increase flexibility from Federal regulation. We should explore a new generation of break-the-mold New American Schools. Standards and assessments should be raised, not reduced to a common denominator. Good teachers should be rewarded for teaching well. The President has established a bold strategy, America 2000, which challenges communities to achieve ambitious national goals. The proposed GI Bill for Children will provide $1000 scholarships to middle- and lower-income families, enabling children to attend the school of their choice. We have nearly doubled funds for Head Start, making it possible for all eligible 4-year-olds to participate, should their parents choose. The President has proposed allowing families to deduct interest they pay on student loans and penalty-free withdrawal of IRA funds for educational expenses.

The President has developed a youth apprenticeship strategy to ensure that students meet high academic standards, while training them with a skill as well. We strongly support youth apprenticeships that include a year of college, to encourage a lifetime of learning and opportunity for students.

1992 Republican Platform
Environment

President Bush's Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990, the toughest environmental law ever enacted, uses an innovative system of emission credits to achieve dramatic reductions. This will save $1 billion over the Democrats' command-and-control approach. Other provisions of the law cut acid rain emissions in half, reduce toxic pollutants by 90%, reduce smog and speed the use of cleaner fuels. We have collected more civil penalties from polluters in 2 years than in the previous 20, begun the phaseout of substances that harm the ozone and launched a campaign to expand and improve national parks, forests and recreation areas. Our moratorium on offshore drilling in sensitive offshore areas has bought time for technology to master environmental challenges. President Bush has accelerated research on global climate change. We propose a worldwide forestry convention and gave almost $1/2 billion to forest conservation. We applaud our President for confronting international bureaucrats at the Rio Conference. He refused to accept anti-American demands for income redistribution and won a global climate treaty relying on real action plans rather than arbitrary targets hostile to U.S. growth and workers.

1992 Democratic Platform
Health Care

We will enact a uniquely American reform of the health care system to control costs and make health care affordable; ensure quality and choice of health care providers; cover all Americans regardless of pre-existing conditions; squeeze out waste, bureaucracy and abuse; improve primary and preventive care including child immunization and prevention of diseases like tuberculosis now becoming rampant in our cities; provide expanded education on the relationship between diet and health; expand access to mental health treatment services; provide a safety net through support of public hospitals; provide for the full range of reproductive choice - education, counseling, access to contraceptives and the right to a safe, legal abortion; expand medical research; and provide more long-term care, including home health care. We will make ending the epidemic in breast cancer a major priority and expand reproductive health services and other special needs of women. We must be united in declaring war on AIDS and HIV disease, implement the recommendations of the National Commission on AIDS and fully fund the Ryan White Care Act; provide targeted and honest prevention campaigns; combat HIV-related discrimination; make drug treatment available for all addicts who seek it; guarantee access to quality care; expand clinical trials for treatments and vaccines; and speed up the FDA drug approval process.

1992 Democratic Platform
Civil Rights

We support ratification of the Equal Right Amendment, affirmative action, stronger protection of voting rights for racial and ethnic minorities, and resistance to discriminatory English-only pressure groups. We will work to rebuild and vigorously use machinery for civil rights enforcement; support comparable remedies for women; aggressively prosecute hate crimes; strengthen legal services for the poor; provide civil rights protection for gay men and lesbians and an end to Defense Department discrimination; respect Native American culture; and fully enforce the Americans with Disability Act.

We stand behind the right of every woman to choose, consistent with *Roe v. Wade*, regardless of ability to pay, and support a national law to protect that right. The goal of our nation must be to make abortion less necessary, not more difficult or more dangerous. We pledge to support contraceptive research, family planning, comprehensive family life education, and policies that support healthy childbearing and enable parents to care most effectively for their children.

1992 Democratic Platform
Housing

We support home ownership for working families and honor that commitment through policies encouraging affordable mortgage credit. We must confront homelessness by removing, preserving and expanding the stock of affordable low-income housing. We support tenant management and ownership, so public housing residents can manage their own affairs and acquire property worth protecting.

1992 Democratic Platform
Crime

To empower America's communities, We pledge to restore government as upholder of basic law and order for crime-ravaged communities. The most direct way to restore our cities is to put more police on the streets. We will create a Police Corps, participants will receive college aid in return for years of service after graduation in a State or local police department. As we shift people and resources from defense to the civilian economy, we will create new jobs in law enforcement for those leaving the military.

We will expand drug counseling and treatment for those who need it, intensify efforts to educate our children at the earliest ages to the dangers of drug and alcohol abuse, and curb demand, so that the U.S., with 5% of the world's population, no longer consumes 50% of the world's illegal drugs.

We support community policing, using foot patrols and storefront offices to make police officers visible fixtures in urban neighborhoods.

We support a reasonable waiting period to permit background checks for purchase of handguns, and assault weapons controls to ban the possession, sale, importation and manufacture of the most deadly assault weapons. We do not support efforts to restrict weapons used for legitimate hunting and sporting purposes. We will work for swift and certain punishments of all people who violate gun laws and for stronger sentences for criminals who use guns. We will seek to shut down the black market for guns and impose severe penalties on people who sell guns to children.

We will redouble efforts to ferret out and punish those who betray the public trust, rig financial markets, misuse their depositors' money or swindle their customers.

1992 Democratic Platform
Education

We oppose the Bush Administration's efforts to bankrupt the public school system - the bedrock of democracy - through private school vouchers. We will expand child health and nutrition programs, and extend Head Start to all eligible children, and guarantee all children access to quality, affordable child care. We deplore the savage inequalities among public schools across the land and believe every child deserves an equal chance to a world-class education. Reallocating resources toward this goal must be a priority. We support reforms such as site-based decision making and public school choice, with strong protections against discrimination. We will invest in education technology and establish world-class standards in math, science and other core subjects. We will adopt a national apprenticeship-style program to ease the transition from school to work for non-college-bound students. We support the goal of literacy for all Americans. We will ask firms to invest in the training of all workers, not just corporate management. We will make college affordable to all students who are qualified to attend, regardless of family income. A Domestic GI Bill will enable all Americans to borrow money for college, so long as they are willing to pay it back as a percentage of their income over time or through national service, addressing unmet community needs.

1992 Democratic Platform
Environment

We will protect old-growth forests, preserve critical habitats, provide a genuine "no net loss" policy on wetlands, conserve the critical resources of soil, water and air, and oppose new offshore drilling and mineral exploration and production in our nation's environmentally critical areas, and address ocean pollution by reducing oil and toxic waste spills at sea. We believe America's youth can serve their country through a civilian conservation corps. To protect public health, we will clean up the environmental horrors at Federal facilities, insist that private polluters clean up their toxic and hazardous wastes, and vigorously prosecute environmental criminals. We will oppose Republican efforts to gut the Clean Air Act in the guise of competitiveness.

The United States must become a leader in the fight against global warming. We should join our European allies in agreeing to limit carbon dioxide emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000. The United States must be a world leader in finding replacements for CFC and other ozone-depleting substances.

We must work actively to protect the planet's biodiversity and preserve its forests. At the Rio Earth Summit, the Bush Administration's failure to negotiate a biodiversity treaty it could sign was an abdication of international leadership.

We must fashion imaginative ways of engaging governments and business in the effort to encourage developing nations to preserve their environmental heritage.

Explosive population growth must be controlled by working closely with other industrialized and developing nations and private organizations to fund greater family planning efforts.

CAMPAIGN ISSUES & CONTROVERSIES

Campaign & Elections - Legal Issues

Overview:
Sooner or later all compelling social issues are brought before our nation's courts. Cases heard by the U.S. Supreme Court represent some of the fundamental conflicts between and within the defining values of our democracy. In recent years, for example, the Supreme Court has dealt with issues touching the very core of the concepts of *liberty* (free speech, free religion), *privacy* (abortion, searches), *equality* (affirmative action), and *justice* (due process, rights of the accused) among others. Cases involving our political processes similarly highlight these basic ideals. Each of the cases used in this section focus attention on key value conflicts. By working with the case materials, students will gain knowledge of the laws governing the way campaigns and elections are operated; practice important skills in analysis and decision-making; and gain more insight into the important democratic concepts involved.

There are a variety of ways in which a teacher might use the case information presented here. A brief description of the case study process follows. In addition, there are suggestions for alternative strategies for classroom use. For each case, all pertinent information is presented in a standardized, capsulated format. The actual decisions are included separate from the facts, issues, and arguments so as not to defeat the purpose of some of the strategies.

Campaign & Elections Case Studies

The Case Study Method: An Overview

The case study method is designed to help students apply legal concepts to real life conflicts. Through a structured process of analysis students study problem situations and reach their own conclusions regarding the resolution. By having students grapple with the facts, issues, and arguments surrounding a conflict, they gain a deeper understanding of the law, fundamental legal principles, and basic democratic concepts. The process helps to develop student skills in independent analysis, reasoning, critical thinking, and decision-making.

Case studies may take many forms. The most traditional approach involves legal cases based on written opinions of the courts. Other types of cases include hypothetical situations, real life situations drawn from history or current events, or themes from art, music, and literature. These cases can be presented in written form, reenacted by students, or audio or visually tape recorded. Whatever format is used, the cases selected should be ripe with issues for student analysis and discussion.

Steps in the Case Study Approach

Review the Facts: Students should carefully review and clarify the facts of the case. Often, the facts or a fact summary is provided. Other times students themselves must piece together exactly what occurred. Since everything else in the case hinges on the accuracy of the facts involved, it is important to spend some time creating a fact summary. The teacher might ask students the following questions to guide their understanding:

- *What happened?*

In some cases it may be important to establish a chronology of events, to determine not only what happened but when.

- *Who are the parties involved?*

There may be more than two people or groups with an interest in the outcome of the case. As well as identifying the actual litigants, students could list all groups that might be affected in some way by the conflict.

- *What facts are important? Unimportant?*

Different parties may place more emphasis on some facts than on others. In addition, there may be some facts included in the scenario that are not relevant to the case. By sifting through all of the facts and assigning relative importance, students receive valuable practice in identifying salient points. Through the consideration of the facts and their comparative value, students begin to develop a case theory (why something happened and how the conflict should be resolved).

- *Is any significant information missing?*

It may be impossible in a short summary to completely capture all events leading to the conflict. What other information might be helpful to clarify the situation? Think of facts as pieces to a jigsaw puzzle. What pieces are missing? Some pieces may not be that important, but others may be crucial to the resolution of the situation.

Frame the Issues: Students should identify and discuss the issues presented by the case. While most cases revolve around a legal issue (that is, an issue that may be resolved in a court of law), students may want to consider other aspects of the case, such public policy issues, ethics, and practicality. For example, a case involving the notion of "one person, one vote" promotes a variety of non-legal considerations.

Public Policy - How do you reapportion congressional districts fairly so that every congressperson represents the same number of people?

Ethics - Which democratic value is most important in this case: equality, order, fairness, diversity?

Practical - What is the expense involved in reapportionment? How often should we reapportion? Is it possible to have exact numbers?

Issues in cases should be posed in the form of a question. The decision of the case will provide a direct answer to these legal questions.

Through the examination of all of the issues (both legal and non-legal) students come to a better understanding of the value conflicts involved. The teacher might focus student attention solely on the legal issues when first examining a case and then return to the other issues as a culminating activity or a debriefing mechanism (Did the legal resolution of the case answer these other related questions as well?). The teacher also may consider grouping a series of cases together to discuss the related issues and to have students identify the general concepts involved (Justice, Equality, Diversity, etc.).

Discuss the Arguments: Once students have identified the issues, they should develop the arguments which can be made for and against each of the various points of view. In analyzing the arguments, students should consider the following questions:

- *What are the arguments in favor of and against each point of view?*
- *Which arguments are most persuasive? Least persuasive? Why?*
- *What might be the consequences of each course of action?*
- *Are there any alternatives?*

The argument is the presentation of the case theory developed from the facts. What points make the strongest case for each side?

Reach a Decision: A decision is the answer to the issues posed by the case. Students should be encouraged to come up with their own resolution to the case (complete with an explanation as to why they believe this course of action to be the most equitable) and compare this reasoning with that of the court. Do they agree or disagree with the court's decision? What will the decision mean to the parties directly involved in the case? Are there more far reaching repercussions? What precedent does this case set for future disputes?

Variations
There are a number of different ways to use the case study method with your students. Some of these are highlighted below:

- Give the students the entire case and have them identify the various elements (Facts, Issues, Arguments, Decision). This approach builds comprehension of the case study elements.
- Give students the facts, issues, arguments, and unmarked decisions (both majority and dissenting) and have them select the opinion that they agree with and explain. Later the teacher can reveal the majority opinion and have students compare.
- Give students the facts of the case alone. They must then identify the issues and develop arguments. Again compare the student derived arguments and decision against the actual court holding.
- Show students a conflict scenario. They must piece together the pertinent facts, identify the main issues, and develop arguments for each party involved. (Both this approach and the one preceding could be expanded to a full-fledged mock appellate hearing with groups of students representing the appellant, the respondent, and the court).

Summary
Case studies are an effective means of bringing real life problems into the classroom. They support at least two broad levels of cognitive and affective objectives. First, they serve as concrete examples/applications of concepts and generalizations. In working through facts, issues, arguments, and decisions students gain specific knowledge. Second, case studies provide a framework for higher levels of abstraction involving analysis, synthesis, and evaluation through the use of questions that go beyond the immediate scope of the case at hand. For example:

- What general principles or concepts are involved?
- What factors in the case help define the principles/concepts?
- What does the case tell us about the costs and benefits of the principles/concepts to individuals and to society?
- What does the case tell us about the scope and limits of these principles/concepts?

The cases themselves represent basic value conflicts within our society. Through a structured review of facts, issues, arguments, and decisions, students may better understand the basic values, issues, and events which continue to shape our nation.

CASE BRIEF FORM

Case Title:
Legal Cite:
Fact Summary:

Legal Issues:
Other Issues/Concepts Involved:

Arguments:

π Δ

Decision:

Majority Opinion:

Dissenting Opinion:

Significance:

CASE STUDY FORM

1. Describe the **FACTS** of the case:

2. What are the **ISSUES** involved in the case?

3. What might by some of the **ARGUMENTS** presented by the appellant (the person or group appealing the case)?

4. What might be some of the **ARGUMENTS** presented by the respondent (the person or group responding to the appeal)?

5. What are possible **OPTIONS** the Court has in this case?

6. How would **YOU DECIDE** the case? Why?

7. How was the case **DECIDED BY THE COURT**?

8. What is the **LASTING SIGNIFICANCE** of this case?

Legal Issues

Sooner or later all compelling social issues are brought before our nation's courts. Cases heard by the U.S. Supreme Court represent some of the fundamental conflicts between and within the defining values of our democracy. In recent years, for example, the Supreme Court has dealt with issues touching the very core of the concepts of *liberty* (free speech, free religion), *privacy* (abortion, searches), *equality* (affirmative action), and *justice* (due process, rights of the accused) among others. Cases involving our political processes similarly highlight these basic ideals. The cases presented here touch on ten broad areas relating to campaigns and election processes. The specific focus of each case, the legal citation, and discussion questions linking the cases to important concepts are summarized below:

I. May states impose residency requirements for voters?
Dunn v. Blumstein, 405 U.S. 330 (1972)

Important Concepts:

Participation	Why are there residency requirements for voting? How do residency requirements effect voter participation? Are there residency requirements for voting in your state?
Authority	Who may set voting requirements? Do requirements differ from state to state? Are there any federal standards or requirements for voting? Should there be a set of national standards for voting?
Liberty	Do residency requirements restrict the right to vote?

II. Who should decide the process by which convention delegates are chosen?
Democratic Party of the U.S. v. LaFollette, 450 U.S. 107 (1981)

Important Concepts:

Authority	Who should have the final say as to how delegates to national political conventions are decided?
Justice	Is it fair for non-party members to influence the candidate selection process?
Participation	Who should be allowed to participate in the candidate selection process? Open to all or limited?
Liberty	Does a requirement of party affiliation violate freedom of association?
Diversity	Does a requirement of party affiliation lessen the degree of diversity in selecting candidates for the presidency?

III. May individuals/groups distribute materials on behalf of a candidate anonymously?
McIntyre v. Ohio Elections Commission, Docket #93-986 (to be argued Fall 1994)

Important Concepts:

Liberty	Does a requirement to disclose the source of campaign literature violate or limit freedom of expression?
Diversity	Does disclosure limit the diversity of viewpoints expressed during a campaign?
Truth	Does disclosure tend to ensure more truthful statements?
Justice	Does disclosure help or hinder fair campaign processes?

IV. Do voters have a constitutional right to cast write-in votes?
Burdick v. Takushi, 112 S. Ct. 2059 (1992)

Important Concepts:

Participation	Does a ban on write-in voting allow for full and effective participation in the election process?
Liberty	Does a ban violate /limit associational and speech freedoms?
Equality	Is ballot open to all with ban on write-ins in place?
Diversity	Is diversity maintained with a write-in ban?

V. Who should pay for local elections?
Bullock v. Carter, 92 S. Ct. 849 (1972)

Important Concepts:

Participation	Is there a constitutional right to run for public office? Do candidate filing fees limit electoral participation?
Responsibility	Who should pay the costs associated with local elections?
Diversity	Do the assessment of fees limit the degree of diversity in an election campaign?
Justice	Is it fair to have candidates pay to appear on the ballot?
Equality	Do filing fee requirements impose any unequal burdens on candidates for office?

VI. Who decides how to set term limits?
U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Hill, Docket #93-1456 (to be argued Fall 1994)

Important Concepts:

Authority	Who decides on qualifications/conditions for federal office? Does the federal government have the right to override the will of state voters?
Diversity	Would term limits further the cause of diversity in Congress?
Equality	If some states impose term limits while others do not, how is the equality of state representation affected?
Justice	Are term limits fair?
Liberty	Is there a constitutional right to be a candidate for office?
Participation	Would term limits increase or restrict political participation?

VII. May states limit access to the ballot for "independent" candidates?
McCarthy v. Briscoe, 97 S. Ct. 10 (1976)
Anderson v. Celebrezze, 103 S. Ct. 1564 (1983)

Important Concepts:

Justice	How can the decision to include/exclude certain candidates from the ballot be made fairly?
Diversity	Does limiting ballot access to established political parties allow alternative viewpoints to be heard?
Equality	Do ballot access requirements affect all candidates equally?
Liberty	Do candidates have a right to appear on a ballot? Do voters have a right to have all candidates on the ballot?
Participation	Do ballot access requirements encourage the participation of the widest possible range of voters?

VIII. Is race-conscious districting to achieve minority representation constitutional?
Shaw v. Reno, 113 S. Ct. 2816 (1993)

Important Concepts:

Equality	Conflict between equality of opportunity and equality of condition - opportunity for minority representation or ensuring minority representation?
Diversity	Should Congressional districts be drawn to ensure diversity?
Participation	Will redrawing Congressional boundaries open new participatory opportunities?
Justice	What is the most fair manner to apportion representatives from each state? How far should society go to redress past representational injustices?
Authority	Who should have the final word on redistricting?

IX. How should congressional representatives be apportioned among states?
U.S. Department of Commerce v. Montana, 112 S. Ct. 1415 (1992)
Franklin v. Massachusetts, 112 S. Ct. 2767 (1992)

Important Concepts:

Justice	What is the most fair way to allocate representation among the states?
Equality	What is the most equal way to allocate representation among the states?
Participation	How can the reapportionment process most closely realize the goal of 1 person, 1 vote?

X. Should campaign contributions be considered political speech?
Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976)

Important Concepts:

Freedom	Do campaign contributions represent acts of free speech and free association?
Equality	Does placing limits on spending equalize campaigns or prohibit equal access?
Participation	Do campaign money limits also limit political participation?

May States impose residency requirements for voters?

Dunn v. Blumstein, 405 U.S. 330 (1972)

Facts:

James Blumstein moved to Tennessee on June 12, 1970, to assume his duties as an assistant professor of law at Vanderbilt University in Nashville. He attempted to register to vote on July 1, 1970. Tennessee law authorizes the registration only of persons who, at the time of the next election, will have been residents of the state for a year. Congressional elections were to be held in November 1970, meaning that Blumstein would have resided in Tennessee for only 4 months. The county registrar therefore refused to register him. Blumstein sued, claiming that this action violated his rights.

Arguments:

π (Tennessee):

- Residency requirements are necessary to prevent election fraud
- Need time to check the accuracy of the information provided
- Voters need time to gather information in order to be knowledgeable about the election issues and to vote intelligently

Δ (Blumstein)

- Does not challenge the power of the state to restrict vote to bona fide residents. However, is one year necessary to prevent fraud?
- Duration of requirement restricts freedom to travel
- Duration of residency requirement effectively denies him the right to vote

Residency Requirements

Dunn v. Blumstein, 405 U.S. 330 (1972)

Decision (6-1): The state of Tennessee's residency requirement for voting violates the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Such laws must be measured by a strict equal protection test. They are unconstitutional unless the state can demonstrate that such laws are "*necessary* to promote a *compelling* state interest." A pre-election waiting period may aid in preventing fraud, but the Court felt that thirty days should be an ample period of time for the state to complete whatever administrative tasks are necessary to prevent fraud, while a year would be too much. Furthermore residency requirements limit voting to those who are minimally knowledgeable about the issues, such requirements leave out too many people who should not be excluded. The Court also noted that, in addition to depriving citizens of the right to vote, such laws also directly prevent the exercise of the right to travel.

Who should decide the process by which convention delegates are chosen?
Democratic Party of the U.S. v. LaFollette, 450 U.S. 107 (1981)

Facts:

Under its 1980 rules, the Democratic Party required that only registered Democrats could participate in the process of selecting delegates to the party's National Convention. Wisconsin's election laws allowed any registered voter to participate in its Democratic Presidential Candidate preference primary without regard to party affiliation. Although Wisconsin's Democratic National Convention delegates are selected separately after the primary, those delegates must vote at the convention in accord with the results of the open primary. While Wisconsin's open primary does not itself violate the Democratic Party's rules, the state's requirement that primary results be honored at the National Convention does. The State of Wisconsin sued the Democrats when the party refused to seat the state's delegates at the 1980 National Convention. A lower court found in favor of Wisconsin. The national Democratic Party appealed the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Arguments:

π (Democratic Party):

- Bases claim on freedom of association grounds
    - right to choose own members
    - right to advance shared beliefs
- Freedom of association protected by 14th Amendment from infringement by states
- At issue is not the state primary itself, rather the requirement that delegates must follow primary results

Δ (Wisconsin):

- A compelling state interest overrides any free association claim, namely to preserve the integrity of elections in the state to keep them fair and open to all
- Furthers expressed state goal of increasing participation
- A party affiliation requirement might promote harassment of voters and jeopardize individual liberties
- All voters should participate in decisions of such importance as nominating candidates for president

Party Nomination Conventions

Democratic Party of the U.S. v. LaFollette, 450 U.S. 107 (1981)

Decision (6-3): "... The National Democratic Party and its adherents enjoy a constitutionally protected right of political association... This court has recognized that the inclusion of persons unaffiliated with a political party may seriously distort its collective decisions - thus impairing the Party's essential functions - and that political parties may accordingly protect themselves 'from the intrusion by those with adverse political principles' ... A state or a court, may not constitutionally substitute its own judgment for that of the party. A political party's choice among the various ways of determining the makeup of a state's delegation to the party's national convention is protected by the constitution... The courts may not interfere on the ground that they view a particular expression as unwise or irrational."

May individuals/groups distribute materials on behalf of a candidate anonymously?

McIntyre v. Ohio Elections Commission, Docket #93-986 (to be argued Fall 1994)

Facts:

Ohio election laws require that persons disseminating campaign or issue-oriented literature place their names and addresses on the material in order to guard against fraud. (Approximately one-half of the states have a similar law). Margaret McIntyre was fined $100 for distributing flyers concerning a local school tax initiative that had been placed on the ballot. The flyers, opposing the tax, were signed only "concerned parents and taxpayers." McIntyre has sued the Ohio Election Commission claiming that the disclosure law violates her rights under the Ohio State Constitution, which states; "Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of the right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech, or of the press." Moreover she claims her First Amendment rights under the U.S. Constitution have been violated. The U.S. Supreme Court has agreed to review the case on appeal.

Arguments:

π (Margaret McIntyre):

- State election law violates First Amendment rights
- Law violates provisions of the Ohio Constitution ensuring freedom of speech and press and cautioning against abuse.
- Because free speech liberty is so important, the state cannot abridge or restrict except in the most extraordinary circumstances.

Δ (State of Ohio):

- The election law serves an important state interest in that the disclosure provision helps citizens to determine the validity of the message and combats against fraud, libel, and false advertising.
- The law in no way restricts the ability of citizens to speak or to publish. They merely must disclose where the speech or publication is coming from.

Anonymous Campaign Literature

McIntyre v. Ohio Elections Commission, Docket #93-986 (to be argued Fall 1994)

This case was accepted by the Supreme Court for review in Spring, 1994 and has not yet been argued. The Ohio Supreme Court ruled in favor of the state Election Commission. The court found that the requirement that persons disseminating campaign or issue-oriented literature serves an important state purpose in preventing election fraud. The decision was made on the basis of the state's claim that speech rights were in no way being abridged by the disclosure requirement, instead the requirement is regulatory in nature and intended to prevent abuse of free speech. The requirement is meant to identify those responsible for fraud, false advertising, and libel during campaigns. The disclosure requirement neither impacts the content of the message nor significantly burdens the ability to have it disseminated. In the appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, McIntyre argues that the liberty to circulate material is just as essential as the liberty to publish. In fact, without circulating, the publication would have little value.

Do voters have a constitutional right to cast write-in votes?

Burdick v. Takushi, 112 S.Ct. 2059 (1992)

Facts:

When he lived in New Jersey, Alan Burdick was able to cast write-in votes for candidates whose names were not on the ballot. However, when he moved to Honolulu, Hawaii, state officials told him that under Hawaiian law write-in votes could not be counted. Burdick contends that he should be allowed to cast write-in votes, because he is frequently dissatisfied with the choice of candidates on the ballot, who often do not share his views or share his positions on public policy issues. Hawaii is so heavily Democratic (Democrats constitute 90% of the state legislature) that the Republican party frequently does not field candidates for local offices. In the 1986 state legislative races, there was only one candidate in Burdick's district for the state House of Representatives. Burdick said he had no interest in voting for that candidate, but he did want to cast a write-in vote to express his opposition to the only available choice on the printed ballot. Consequently, Burdick filed a lawsuit, contending that the state's prohibition against write-in votes violates his right to vote for candidates of his choice and to express political dissent in the voting booth. The state of Hawaii maintains that the easy access to the ballot by a potential candidate before the election ensures a diversity of options. The Supreme Court agreed to hear the case.

Arguments:

π (Alan Burdick):

- The ban on write-in voting restricts rights guaranteed under U.S. Constitution (free expression, free association). Burdick believes that under the First Amendment, he has a fundamental right to vote for the candidate of his choice, regardless of whether that candidate is on the ballot
- The write-in ban effectively leaves him without a vote

Δ (State of Hawaii)

- The ease of ballot access in the state makes write-ins unnecessary. Anyone declaring a formal candidacy and submitting a minimum number of signatures gets a place on the ballot
- Write-in ban serves important state interests in that it helps to prevent against sabotage of election returns and prevents "poor loser" syndrome where the loser of a party's primary runs independently in the general election

Write-In Voting

Burdick v. Takushi, 112 S.Ct. 2059 (1992)

Decision (6-3): The Court ruled that states may constitutionally prohibit write-in voting, as long as they provide reasonable routes to the ballot for those who are not the official candidates of established parties. (In addition to Hawaii, three other states, Indiana, Nevada, and Oklahoma also make no provision for write-in votes.) Justice White, writing for the majority, said that voting was "of the most fundamental significance." But he added: "It does not follow, however, that the right to vote in any manner and the right to associate for political purposes through the ballot are absolute." He said that in the context of Hawaii's election law, which permits candidates to enter a nonpartisan primary by filing petitions containing 15 or 25 signatures, the state's ban or write-in voting was reasonable and he burden it imposed " a very limited one."

Who should pay for local elections?

Bullock v. Carter, 92 S.Ct. 849 (1972)

Facts:

Three men in Texas sought to become candidates for local offices in the Texas Democratic Party primary election. Under Texas state law, candidates for local office must pay a portion of the cost to appear on the ballot. The payment formula is such that candidates in state-wide elections pay significantly less than candidates for purely local races. Mr. Pate filed to be placed on the ballot for county commissioner but could not afford the $1424 ballot fee (note: 1972 prices). Mr. Wischkaemper wanted to run for county judge, but could not come up with the $6300 assessment. Mr. Carter similarly could not afford the $1000 fee to be placed on the ballot for commissioner of the general land office. Furthermore, under Texas law, write-in votes are not allowed. Therefore, the three men could not enter the contests unless they paid the fees. The fee provision applies only to party primaries and is meant to defray the cost of such elections so that voters do not have to pick up the tab themselves. The three men sued the state claiming that their rights to run for public office had been violated and that voters were being denied a choice because of the inability of candidates to pay.

Arguments:

π (Texas/Bullock):

- State has an interest, if not a duty, to protect integrity of its political processes from frivolous or fraudulent candidacies. The fee requirement weeds out non-serious candidates
- It is not fair to the citizens of the state to pay for numerous primary elections around the state and the costs of the general election
- The state has the right to limit and regulate the number of candidates appearing on the ballot. The fee is one way to do this

Δ (Carter, et al.):

- Filing fee violates equal protection clause of 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution
- There are no alternative means to get on the ballot, must pay the fee or may not run for office
- System of ballot access limits voter choices to the extent that it denies them the right of free speech and association
- Arbitrary limiting of ballot to candidates based on ability to pay discriminates on the basis of economic status

Candidate Ballot Fees

Bullock v. Carter, 9s S.Ct. 849 (1972)

Decision (7-0): The Court unanimously held that the Texas fee system for primary elections violated equal protection. The Court noted that since payment of the filing fee is an absolute prerequisite to the candidate's participation in the election and since write-in voting is not an option, the requirement discriminated against candidates solely on the basis of their economic status. "The Texas system creates barriers to candidate access to the primary ballot, thereby tending to limit the field off candidates from which voters might choose...Not only are voters substantially limited in their choices of candidates, but also there is the obvious likelihood that this limitation would fall more heavily on the less affluent segment of the community, whose favorites may be unable to pay the large costs required by the Texas system." The Court's decision in this case does not abolish filing fees. The Court noted that state's have an obligation to protect the integrity of its political processes from frivolous or fraudulent candidacies. The fees must be reasonable, however, and must not exclude viable candidates solely due to their inability to pay.

Who decides how to set term limits?

U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Hill, Docket #93-1456 (to be argued Fall 1994)

Facts:

In 1992, voters in Arkansas approved a measure that would limit the number of terms U.S. Congressional representatives from that state could serve. Since 1990, 15 states have established congressional term limits, and similar efforts are underway in numerous others. The Arkansas law, which was approved by 60% of the voters, states that no one who had been elected to three House terms (six years) or more, or two Senate terms (12 years) or more may get his or her name on the ballot for an election. The state law does not bar an incumbent from running as a write-in candidate, however, holding open the possibility of re-election beyond the term limits. A challenge to the Arkansas law was made by Bobbie Hill of Arkansas' League of Women Voters and joined by Arkansas' Congressional delegation. The U.S. Supreme Court has accepted the case for review.

Arguments:

π (Pro Term Limits)	• The Constitution gives states the power to determine the time, place and manner of elections. • The Constitution, further, gives "the people" of the states the power to choose their representatives. A fair and open referendum was held. 60% of the voters approved term limits • Write-in provision leaves open possibility for re-election
Δ (Anti Term Limits)	• U.S. Constitution , Article I, lays out only qualifications for federal office - no mention of term limits • States may not interfere with essentially national election. Any term limit law would require a federal Constitutional Amendment and would have to affect all Congressional representatives from every state equally • Any term limitation violates free association • Voters already have option to limit terms via the ballot box

Term Limits

U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Hill, Docket #93-1456 (to be argued Fall 1994)

This case has been accepted for review by the Supreme Court and will be argued during the Fall term 1994. The Arkansas Supreme Court struck down the restrictions on incumbents. "If there is one watchword for representation of the various states in Congress it is uniformity. Federal legislators speak to national issues that affect the citizens of every state. Additional age restrictions, residency requirements, or sundry experience criteria established by the states would cause variances in this uniformity and lead to an imbalance among the states. This is precisely what we believe the drafters of the U.S. Constitution intended to avoid." The court recognized the dissatisfaction of the voters but noted that the only foreseeable route for term limits would be through an amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which requires a 2/3 majority vote in each national legislative body and ratification of 3/4 of the states.

May states limit access to the ballot for "independent" candidates?
McCarthy v. Briscoe, 97 S.Ct. 10 (1976)
Anderson v. Celebrezze, 103 S.Ct. 1564 (1983)

Facts:

McCarthy v. Briscoe - As of September 1, 1975, Texas amended its Election Code so that candidates for President would be placed on the ballot only if the candidate was the nominee of a recognized political party. Before that time, independent candidates had been able to gain access to the ballot by submitting a certain number of voters' signatures by a deadline several months in advance of the general election. Under the new law that method of qualifying for the ballot was no longer allowed. A presidential candidate must now be a member of a political party. An independent candidate can seek election as President only by joining or organizing a political party or by mounting a write-in campaign. In July 1976, supporters of Senator Eugene McCarthy asked the court to order that McCarthy's name be placed on the ballot or, alternatively, to devise reasonable criteria by which the Senator might demonstrate support for his candidacy as a means of qualifying for ballot position.

Anderson v. Celebrezze - An Ohio statute requires an independent candidate for President to file a statement of candidacy and nominating petition in March in order to appear on the general election ballot in November. Existing political parties with demonstrated support are guaranteed a spot on the ballot even if their nominating conventions fall beyond the deadline. In April 1980, Representative John Anderson announced that he was an independent candidate for President. In May, Anderson supporters submitted a nominating petition and a statement of candidacy, satisfying all requirements for inclusion on the ballot. The Ohio Secretary of State refused to accept the documents because they had not been filed before the deadline. Anderson sued, challenging the constitutionality of the statute claiming that the time provision violated the 1st and 14th Amendments.

Arguments:

π (McCarthy, Anderson):	• Ban on independent candidates violates First Amendment freedom of association • Ban violates Fourteenth Amendment guarantee of equal protection • States are imposing restrictions that affect national process • Party affiliation & time requirements completely arbitrary and serve no useful state purpose
Δ (Texas):	• Legitimate interest to prevent "laundry list" ballots • Alternatives provided for - party formation, write-in
Δ (Ohio):	• Equal treatment of all candidates • Prevent against "sore loser" candidacies • Allows voters sufficient time to study candidates

Ballot Access - Independent Candidates

McCarthy v. Briscoe, 97 S.Ct. 10 (1976)

Decision: McCarthy applied to Justice Powell, as the Circuit Justice, to order that he be placed on the Texas ballot. Powell granted McCarthy's application. Powell wrote: "In determining whether to order a candidate's name added to the ballot as a remedy for a state's denial of access, a court should be sensitive to the State's legitimate interest in preventing 'laundry list' ballots that discourage voter participation and frustrate those who do participate. But where a state forecloses independent candidacy in Presidential elections by affording no means for a candidate to demonstrate community support, as Texas has done, a court may properly look to available evidence to determine whether there is reason to assume community support...It is not seriously contested that Senator McCarthy is a nationally known figure...The defendants have made no showing that support for Senator McCarthy is less substantial in Texas than elsewhere."

Anderson v. Celebrezze, 103 S.Ct. 1564 (1983)

Decision (5-4): The Supreme Court held that Ohio's early filing deadline places an unconstitutional burden on the voting and associational rights of Anderson's supporters. The Ohio filing deadline not only burdens the associational rights of independent voters and candidates, it also places a significant state-imposed restriction on a national electoral process. The burden under the Ohio law falls unequally on independent candidates or on new or small political parties. It therefore discriminates against candidates and voters whose political preferences lie outside the existing parties. Moreover, the Ohio law has a negative impact on the national electoral process since votes cast in each state affect the votes cast in others. Ohio had argued that the early deadline was important to voter education and to protect the stability of the electoral process. The Court questioned whether voters needed 7 months to educate themselves about the issues and to make a choice among candidates. The Court rejected the political stability argument by pointing out that the early deadline merely reinforced the position of existing parties, denying equal protection to alternative viewpoints.

Is race-conscious districting to achieve minority representation constitutional?

Shaw v. Reno, 113 S.Ct. 2816 (1993)

Facts:

Redistricting of federal congressional districts occurs every 10 years to accommodate population shifts identified in the national census. Based on the 1990 census, North Carolina gained one congressional district for a total of 12. The state submitted a proposal to the U.S. Justice Department for review which realigned the districts to account for the added House district and which included a district with a majority African-American population. Although African-Americans comprise 22% of the North Carolina population, there had not been a Black member of Congress from that state since Reconstruction. The Justice Department rejected the state's proposal based on the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and recommended that an additional district with majority African-American population be created. Several white North Carolina residents challenged the constitutionality of the resulting state reapportionment, which created a district stretching approximately 160 miles along Interstate 85 and, for much of its length, is no wider than the I-85 corridor. The law suit alleges that creating such a gerrymandered district with disregard for consideration other than race violates the Fifteenth Amendment. The proponents of the plan argue that the oddly-shaped district serves an important state interest ensuring minority representation.

Arguments:

π (Opponents):

- Creating a district based on race violates the 15th Amendment
- Creating a specified number of minority districts without regard to geography or any other important considerations segregates voters based on race
- Gerrymandered district discriminates against white voters in black district
- District plan violates ideal of "color-blind" system

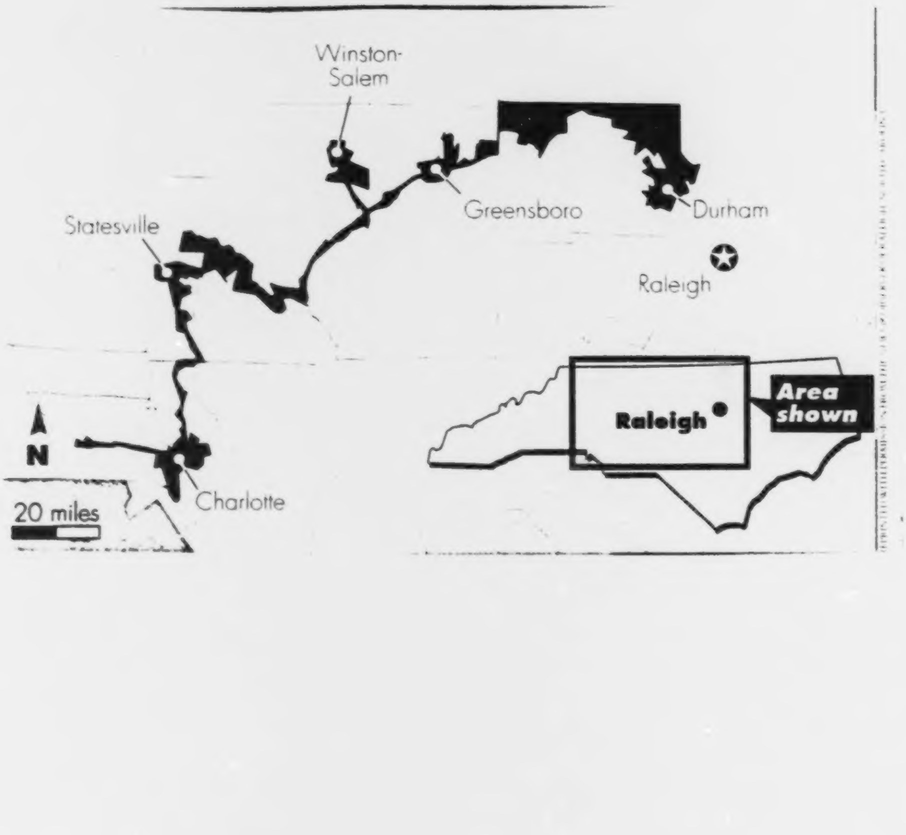
Δ (Supporters):

- New district created in line with provisions of Voting Rights Act
- District plan provides more equitable distribution for Congressional representation
- State should be given wide latitude to take steps to redress past injustices

Congressional Redistricting

Shaw v. Reno, 113 S.Ct. 2816 (1993)

Decision (5-4): The Supreme Court held that North Carolina's redistricting plan was so irregular that it could be viewed only as an effort to segregate races for purposes of voting, without regard to traditional districting principles and without sufficiently compelling justification. "Classifications of citizens based solely on race are by there nature odious to a free people whose institutions are founded upon the doctrine of equality, because they threaten to stigmatize persons by reason of their membership in a racial group...By perpetuating stereotypical notions about members of the same racial group - that they think alike, share the same political interests, and prefer the same candidates - a racial gerrymander may exacerbate the very patterns of racial bloc voting that majority-minority districting is said to counteract. It also sends elected representatives the message that their primary obligation is to represent only that group's members, rather than their constituency as a whole." North Carolina's interest in creating majority-minority districts in order to comply with the Voting Rights Act does not give it carte blanche to engage in racial gerrymandering.



How should congressional representatives be apportioned among states? (Part I)

U.S. Department of Commerce v. Montana, 112 S.Ct. 1415 (1992)

Facts:

Following the 1990 Census, the Bureau of the Census recalculated the number of seats in the U.S. House of Representatives to which each state was entitled according to a formula used since the 1940's, known as the "method of equal proportions." As a result of population shifts since 1980, eight states gained House seats, and thirteen lost seats. Montana, which lost one of the two seats it has had since 1910, filed a lawsuit. The state claims that the reapportionment formula violates the ideal of one-person, one-vote because it fails to allocates seats so that each congressional district is as equal in population as possible. The ideal district size calculated by the Department of Commerce is 572,466. By losing one House seat, Montana's sole remaining district has a population of 803,655, the largest congressional district by population in the U.S. The states claims that by returning its second district and removing Washington state's ninth district a better balance is struck.

Arguments:

π (Dept. of Commerce):

- Absolute equality in apportioning districts not possible. Department made a good faith effort based on the same formula used for years
- Montana had plenty of opportunity to review apportionment procedures before census taken. State apparently had no problem with plan until it lost a seat
- Different formulas do exist, but each yields a different result. Someone, somewhere is going to lose out

Δ (Montana):

- Formula used does not result in most equitable distribution of Congressional seats
- Violates principle of one-person, one-vote
- Other mathematical models exist that would distribute seats more equally

How should congressional representatives be apportioned among states? (Part II)

Franklin v. Massachusetts, 112 S.Ct. 2767 (1992)

Facts:

Massachusetts lost one of its eleven seats in Congress as a result of the 1990 Census. The state filed a law suit challenging the Secretary of Commerce's decision to include federal personnel stationed abroad and their dependents in each state's 1990 Census count for the purposes of dividing the 435 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives among the states. As a result of the addition, Massachusetts lost its eleventh seat to the state of Washington. Massachusetts claims that the inclusion of federal personnel abroad was unprecedented. The Commerce Department had included these people in the reapportionment count only once before, in 1970 to include soldiers fighting in Southeast Asia. The state further claims that there is no reliable way to determine the "home" state of federal personnel abroad. Many claim states without a personal income tax as their "home state" for tax purposes. Others claim their state of birth, but have not actually resided there for decades. Still others use their last mailing address, often a military base, as their official U.S. residence. This complication in accurately counting overseas personnel resulted in Massachusetts losing a congressional district.

Arguments:

π (Dept. of Commerce):

- Not to include U.S. citizens temporarily stationed overseas would deny them the right of full and fair representation.
- Decision made by Commerce Department was open to Congressional review prior to its application. By federal statute, the administrative decision, once made, is not subject to judicial review.
- Department gave its "best effort" to fairly determine "home of record".

Δ (Massachusetts):

- Decision to count overseas personnel is arbitrary and unprecedented. Commerce Dept. has abused its discretion.
- Unless a more reliable way to determine "home of record" then overseas personnel should not be counted.

Congressional Reapportionment

U.S. Department of Commerce v. Montana, 112 S.Ct. 1415 (1992)

Decision (9-0): The U.S. Supreme Court unanimously agreed with the Department of Commerce on the means used to calculate the number of representatives each state is allotted following the ten-year census. The Court noted that there were a variety of ways that might be employed to calculate representatives but that none are exact or equal. Given the Constitutional constraints to absolute equality (each state must have at least one representative; the number of representatives shall not exceed one for every 30,000 persons; and district boundaries may not cross state lines) and the need to allocate a fixed number of indivisible Representatives among 50 states of varying populations, it is virtually impossible to have the same size district in any pair of states, let alone in all 50. Since 1941, reapportionment has been undertaken using the same formula. While Congress admittedly has not reviewed this procedure, it has had ample time to do so. There is no constitutional obstacle preventing Congress from changing the formula before the next census, but the determinations made based on the 1990 Census stand.

Franklin v. Massachusetts, 112 S.Ct. 2767 (1992)

Decision (9-0): As in the other reapportionment case, the Supreme Court unanimously sided with the Department of Commerce. The Court found that, in this case, "the Secretary of Commerce made a judgment, consonant with, though not dictated by, the text and history of the Constitution, that many federal employees temporarily stationed overseas had retained their ties to the States and could and should be counted toward their states' representation in Congress... The Secretary's judgment does not hamper the underlying constitutional goal of equal representation, but... actually promotes equality." The Department of Commerce made a good faith effort to determine the "home of record" for the 922,819 federal personnel overseas and included them in the reapportionment formula.

Should campaign contributions be considered political speech?

Buckley v. Valeo 424 U.S. 1 (1976)

Facts:

Senator James Buckley and others brought suit challenging the constitutionality of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. This Act, by far, was the most comprehensive piece of federal campaign reform legislation ever enacted. The Act regulates the election of the President, Vice-President, and members of Congress. Among its provisions:

- It limits individual political contributions to $1000 to any single candidate with an overall annual limit of $25000 by any single contributor;
- It limits "soft money" contributions, that is money spent on behalf of a particular candidate, to $1000 for each candidate per election; and
- It limits the amount of money a candidate and his/her family may contribute to his/her own campaign.

Buckley and the others claimed that the Act violated the First Amendment rights of free speech and free association.

Arguments:

π (Buckley):

- Donating money to a political candidate is a protected form of speech and is also a form of electoral participation.
- Limits on contributions by others violates freedom of association.
- Limits on individual contributions to own campaign violates free speech provisions.

Δ (Congress):

- Act serves as an important step in reforming corrupt campaign practices and removing the appearance of improper influence stemming from the dependence of candidates on large campaign contributions.
- Places limits on the amount that can be contributed not on the contribution itself.
- Does not violate free expression or free association because the Act leaves open many other avenues of political participation.

Campaign Contributions

Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1 (1976)

Decision: The Court held part of the Federal Election Campaign Act constitutional and part unconstitutional. Held constitutional, under Congress' power to regulate elections and prevent corruption, is the part that allows Congress to set ceilings on political contributions. The Court recognized the essential nature of raising money in order to run a campaign, but found that the government has a compelling interest to guard against wealth determining the electoral outcome. The limits, the Court noted, serve as primary weapons against the reality or appearance of improper influence. Held unconstitutional, however, is the portion of the Act that set limits to independent political expenditures by individuals and groups, as well as setting limits to personal expenditures by the candidate him/herself. "The Act's contributions and expenditure limitations impinge on protected associational freedoms. Making a contribution, like joining a political party, serves to affiliate a person with a candidate." The Court found it of particular importance to allow candidates to spend their own money on their own behalf. "The First Amendment simply cannot tolerate a restriction upon the freedom of a candidate to speak without legislative limit on behalf of his own candidacy."

SECTION V

ETHICAL DILEMMAS IN ELECTORAL HISTORY

ETHICAL DILEMMAS IN ELECTORAL HISTORY

This section of the curriculum brings a historical perspective to the consideration of a campaigns and elections ethical framework. It seeks to address some of the following questions: What lessons may be learned from past presidential campaigns and elections? How have our experiences informed current campaign and elections processes and practices? How has American society sought to redress past injustices and/or inequalities regarding the political process?

Procedures:

The examples used in this section are structured in the form of historical episodes which pose ethical dilemmas for students to study, analyze, and discuss. The cases selected illustrate past and continuing conflict over basic democratic values. Students will increase their understanding of historic events, develop reasoning abilities by evaluating the actions of historical figures (abilities that can be applied to current and future circumstances) and gain an appreciation of recurrent and pervasive themes of our nation's heritage.

Format:

Each episode includes a description of a scenario, an analytical activity, a discussion of the actual outcome of the case in question, and cues to deeper understanding of important concepts. Each episode emphasizes the link between action and ideal; concrete and abstract. Themes of *Equality, Justice, Participation,* and *Responsibility* played out on a human scale will inform student consideration of current ethical dilemmas.

Use:

The cases selected are only a few of the controversies that might be used to teach about important democratic concepts and the inherent conflicts they engender. These particular episodes were developed for use as infused supplements to a standard U.S. History class, but certainly may be combined to form a separate unit on historical presidential elections.

Historical Narratives:

1800: The Federalist Dilemma

Students consider the selection of either Thomas Jefferson or Aaron Burr as president through the eyes of Federalist representatives.

1824: Popular Democracy?

Fourth place finisher Henry Clay must decide whether to support nationalist candidate John Quincy Adams or regionalist candidate Andrew Jackson when the election is thrown into the House of Representatives.

1840: Modern Campaigning

How should the Democrats respond to Whig campaign tactics which emphasize image or issue?

1860: 1/2 the Nation

What response should southern states take to the election of Republican Abraham Lincoln when he did not receive a single southern vote?

1876: Electoral Controversy

The student becomes the decisive vote when Congress establishes an Electoral Commission to sort out allegations of vote fraud that will determine the outcome of the presidential election.

1912: Progressives All

As an advisor to Theodore Roosevelt, the student must decide whether the former Republican president should run as an independent in the 1912 election.

1948: What Happened?

Who can explain the greatest journalistic blunder in American history?

1972: Power of the Press

The Democrats face an uphill battle in 1972. The press don't make things any easier. What is the role of the media in reporting on a candidate's private life?

The Election of 1800: The Federalist Dilemma

Scenario:

The presidential election of 1800 presented electors with a fundamental choice between the Federalist party (the party of John Adams and Alexander Hamilton) and the Democratic-Republican Party (Thomas Jefferson). The Democratic-Republican ticket of Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr defeated incumbent President John Adams in the electoral vote count 73-65. However, during the electoral vote count, the Democratic-Republicans made an error. One elector was to have withheld a vote from Burr, ensuring that Jefferson would be the next President. Under the Constitution, the candidate receiving the most electoral votes becomes President and the candidate receiving the second highest total becomes Vice-President. Because of the failure to withhold one vote, both Jefferson and Burr received 73 votes. In such a circumstance, the Constitution provided that the House of Representatives decide the outcome, with each of the 16 states receiving a single vote. In order to be elected, a candidate would need 9 votes. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the House was controlled by the Federalists, who now had it in their power to choose between Jefferson and Burr. As leader of the opposition and vice-president under Adams, Jefferson was not well-liked by Federalists. His agrarian vision for the new nation was in direct contrast to the more commercial-minded Federalists. Jefferson maintained a long-standing political feud with the two leaders of the Federalist Party, Adams and Alexander Hamilton. Aaron Burr, on the other hand, seemed to be a more tolerable candidate. He held no strong political vision and might be open to federalist influence. Burr, however, had been instrumental in defeating Hamilton's political machine in New York City. Therefore, while Hamilton disagreed with Jefferson politically, he disliked Burr personally. Hamilton also knew that the Federalist Congress most likely would follow his recommendation.

Activity:

Research the background of the Federalist and Republican parties prior to 1800 and the biographies of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Aaron Burr, and Alexander Hamilton prior to the election. As a Federalist member of the House of Representatives for whom would you cast your vote - Thomas Jefferson or Aaron Burr? Explain your decision. What other factors besides political party affiliation might influence your selection? Are there any demands you might make in return for your vote? Convene a Federalist caucus to compare your decision and reasoning with other classmates. Did you all reach the same conclusion?

Outcome:

On the first ballot, Jefferson received votes from 8 states (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee), Burr received the support of 6 states (New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, and South Carolina), 2 states were undecided (Vermont and Maryland). Hamilton threw his support to Jefferson, for while he did not agree with the policies of the Virginian, he felt that Jefferson would make a much better chief executive. Other Federalists in Congress did not immediately agree with Hamilton's assessment. They tried to strike a deal with Burr. In effect, members of the House wanted an assurance from Burr that he would continue many of the Federalist policies of the past administration. Burr neither approved nor rejected this proposal. Had he given any positive indication at all, he undoubtedly would have been elected President. Instead, failing to get any concessions from Burr, a federalist delegation met with Jefferson. These delegates agreed not to block Jefferson's election if he would agree to four basic points: 1) Preserve the current fiscal system, including Hamilton's National Bank; 2) Maintain neutrality toward both England and France (historically the Federalists were more closely tied with England, while Jefferson was more friendly with France); 3) Preserve the existence of the U.S. Navy; and 4) Agree not to purge the federal government of Federalist civil servants. Jefferson gave his consent to these provisions. On the 36th ballot, Jefferson was elected President with votes from 10 states.

In 1804, Congress passed and 3/4 of the states ratified the 12th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution providing for separate election of a President and Vice-President to avoid similar situations.

Alexander Hamilton's distrust and dislike of Aaron Burr was borne out. In 1804, Burr took offense at Hamilton's moves to deny him positions of political leadership in the state of New York. Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel on July 11 on the banks of the Hudson River in Weehawken, New Jersey. There Aaron Burr shot Alexander Hamilton to death and fled to escape murder charges.

Important Concepts:

Patriotism - While Hamilton did not agree with Jefferson, he nonetheless believed that Jefferson would serve the nation better than Burr. What influence should patriotism have in making such decisions?

Justice - Jefferson was the expressed Presidential candidate of the Democratic-Republican party, would it have been fair to deny him the presidency in favor of Burr?

Promise-Keeping - Does Jefferson have an obligation to abide by the terms of the agreement reached with the Federalists? Did he?

The Election of 1824: Popular Democracy?

Scenario:

As the election of 1824 neared, four main candidates for the Presidency emerged. These candidates represented different sections of the nation and different political interests. It was clear to most political observers that this election would be decided by the House of Representatives under provisions included in the Constitution. The four candidates were:

John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts - Son of former President John Adams and Secretary of State under President James Monroe, Adams' base of support are the New England states (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont).

Henry Clay of Kentucky - Former Speaker of the House and current Senator, Clay has emerged as the voice of the West with support from Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, Louisiana, and his own Kentucky.

William Crawford of Georgia - The clear front-runner, Crawford has served in national government as Minister to France, Secretary of War, and Secretary of the Treasury and is one of the most powerful men in American politics. He has the solid support of the old South (Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia).

Andrew Jackson of Tennessee - The Hero of the Battle of New Orleans and current Senator from Tennessee, Jackson is a relative unknown in national politics, but has wide popular support and state support in the Southwest (Tennessee and Mississippi).

Some months before the election, the front-runner Crawford suffered a paralytic stroke and was seriously ill. This threw the race for the presidency wide open. Voting was conducted in the states between October 29 and November 22. The results indicated that no candidate would receive the necessary 131 electoral votes to be elected President. Jackson received approximately 42% of the popular vote and 99 electoral votes, Adams was second with 84 electors, Crawford third with 41, and Clay received 37 votes from the electoral college. By Constitutional provision, only the top three candidates are referred to the House of Representatives for consideration, leaving Clay out of the running. Similarly, Crawford's continuing illness all but eliminated him from serious consideration. The decision facing the House, then, was whether to vote for Adams or Jackson.

Activity:

As a former Speaker of the House and an influential member of Congress, Henry Clay may hold the key to the decision. Assume that you are an advisor to Clay. Research the backgrounds of the two remaining candidates, Adams and Jackson. Whom would you recommend that Clay support? Explain your reasoning.

Outcome:

Clay clearly supported Adams over Jackson. He believed that Adams' experience in national government would be a big benefit to the country. Adams' nationalist view, Clay believed, would help the country grow and gain in influence. Moreover, Clay distrusted Jackson. He believed that the General was dictatorial and an unstable leader (as well as a threat to Clay's own Western influence). Shortly before the balloting in the House, a Philadelphia newspaper reported that Adams had met with Clay and secretly promised him the position of Secretary of State in exchange for Clay's support. Both Clay and Adams strongly denied this report. When the House voted, Adams received the support of 13 out of the 24 states, winning election. Jackson was supported by 7 states, Crawford received the votes of 4 states. When Clay was later appointed Secretary of State, Jackson and his supporters were outraged. The General believed that given his popular support, he should have been President. He denounced the "Corrupt Bargain" struck by Adams and Clay, and tagged Clay with the nickname "The Judas of the West." These allegations of deceit haunted the Adams Presidency. In 1828, Jackson was elected handily over the incumbent. For his part, Clay remained an important voice in American politics, but the presidency eluded him in large part due to the "corrupt bargain".

Important Concepts:

Responsibility - Did Clay have any responsibility to support Jackson due to the Popular vote outcome?

Truth --Should Clay have been up front about the bargain struck with Adams prior to supporting him?

Authority - This election marks the second time the Presidency has been decided by the House. How well has the system worked? Is there a better alternative?

Participation - The type of deals made in 1800 and 1824 demonstrate the lack of power that voters had to actually select a president. Why do you think the electoral college and the House were made the final authorities rather than the people themselves?

The Election of 1840: Modern Campaigning

Scenario:

The election of 1840 has been called the first "modern" political campaign because of the strategies employed by the two parties involved. The serious issues of the day were buried under a "circus wagon" of empty slogans, name calling, campaign souvenirs, novelty items, songs, and torch-lit parades. The spectacle of the campaign outshone any discussion of the direction that the country was headed or alternative solutions to some very serious problems.

After two successful terms in office, Andrew Jackson decided not to seek a third term in the White House in 1836. Instead, his Vice-President and the man who had masterminded Jackson's campaigns in 1824, 1828, and 1832, Martin Van Buren ran as the candidate of the Democratic party. Van Buren won the presidency largely on the basis of Jackson's popularity. In the four years since the last campaign, however, the Van Buren Administration has had to deal with a series of financial panics and a short economic depression. Some opposition members of Congress had tagged him with the name "Martin Van Ruin". Gearing up for the 1840 campaign, the Whig Party bypassed the most serious candidate, Henry Clay, in favor of a popular favorite. General William Henry Harrison was an aging frontier hero. At 68, he was still remembered for opening up the Northwest Territories (Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin) and successfully battling the natives. One particular battle with the Indians at Tippecanoe became a favorite campaign rallying cry among Whig supporters. So confident that personalities and images would win the election, the Whig Party did not even draw up a platform of issues for the campaign. Instead, images of Harrison in military garb and cries of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too!" filled public discourse. When the Democrats challenged Harrison's credentials and experience by suggesting that he be given a jug of hard cider and allowed to retire in peace to his log cabin in the woods, the Whigs picked up on the theme of the common man. Harrison, a wealthy aristocrat from one of the finest families in Virginia and the owner of a mansion and 3000 acre farmstead, became the populist candidate of hard cider and log cabins. Breaking with tradition, the candidate himself appeared at campaign rallies and delivered speeches lasting 3 to 4 hours. Meanwhile, the Whigs portrayed Van Buren as an imperial president. They likened his administration to that of an Oriental monarch in his palatial White House. They criticized his liking of fine food and expensive wines. They even pointed out that Van Buren had installed a bathtub in the presidential residence!

Activity:

Imagine that you are an advisor to President Van Buren. Faced with these types of campaign tactics, how would you suggest that the campaign respond? What images, issues, etc. would you propose to counter the Whig attacks? Create a campaign strategy that might salvage the Democratic hopes for the White House.

Outcome:

The Democrats failed to adequately respond to the image-driven campaign tactics used by the Whigs. The ironic thing was that Van Buren had master-minded Jackson's populist campaigns in 1824, 1832, and 1836 using the War hero and "Old Hickory" themes. He had run his own campaign in 1836, playing up his experience and his humble beginnings. Unlike Harrison, Van Buren actually came from very common roots. The son of a farmer and inn-keeper, he was truly a self-made man. But the best the Democrats could come up with was a poem about Vice President Richard Johnson to counter Harrison's Indian fighting claims:

> "Rumpsey, Dumpsey, Rumpsey, Dumpsey
> Colonel Johnson killed Tecumseh"

Harrison and Tyler easily defeated the Democratic ticket. Popular turnout for this election topped all previous presidential elections.

Appealing to populist sensibilities, Harrison rode to his inauguration on a white charger. On a bitterly cold and windy day he delivered a lengthy inaugural address without a topcoat or hat. He died of pneumonia just a month after taking office. William Cullen Bryant, a writer and political pundit of the day, regretted Harrison's untimely death "only because he did not live long enough to prove his incapacity for the office of the President."

Important Concepts:

Participation - Popular appeals created new attention to the campaign for the presidency. Was this a positive or negative turn of events?

Truth - In recent elections, the media has attempted to play a "truth squad" role, determining the validity of candidate claims. Look at some of the claims made in the 1840 campaign, which were true? Which were unfounded?

Responsibility - Do candidates have a responsibility to discuss and debate the important issues of the day? How can voters demand to hear about issues, when they respond so favorably to hype?

The Election of 1860: 1/2 the Nation

Scenario:
All out armed conflict inched ever closer as the new decade drew near. Events of the 1850's lent an atmosphere of inevitability to civil war. By the election of 1860, the U.S. was deeply divided between North and South. A third rift involving the new Western states complicated problems even more. Political party selection of presidential nominees reflected this split. The Democrats met in Charleston, South Carolina to nominate a candidate. Southern states demanded that the party make a strong statement favoring the continuation of slavery. When the majority of state delegations refused, delegates from 8 Southern states walked out of the convention. The remaining Democrats met in Baltimore and nominated Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois. The Southern Democrats met in Richmond to nominate their own candidate, former Senator and current Vice-President John Breckenridge of Kentucky. The Republican party, formed only 6 years before on an anti-slavery platform, nominated the candidate whom they thought to be the least controversial of the major contenders, a little known congressman from Illinois, Abraham Lincoln. A loose coalition of splinter groups dissatisfied with all of the options nominated Tennessee Senator John Bell, hoping that his candidacy would provide ground for a compromise should the election end up in the House of Representatives.

Thus there were two Northern and two Southern Candidates running in 1860. None of the four was an outright abolitionist; only one, Breckinridge, was completely tied to slavery interests. Yet politicians and people of influence in the South saw the election as a do or die situation. A careful balance had been maintained in both the House and the Senate between Free and Slave states. However, in the 1850's this balance could no longer be maintained. Growing population in the North meant that the House was dominated by Northern interests. The introduction of new free states threatened any hope of balance in the Senate. To southerners, then, the loss of the presidency to someone hostile to the peculiar institution would translate into a lack of any real political influence.

The popular vote revealed a deeply split electorate. The Republican candidate, Lincoln, was able to win a majority in the electoral college by receiving slightly more votes than his opponents in the northern and western states. He was elected president while receiving less that 39% of the popular vote (the lowest total ever) and no votes at all from any southern state.

Activity:
Upon hearing the news, the state of South Carolina immediately convened a special conference to consider its options. Assume that you were a delegate to the South Carolina Convention, would the electoral outcome be enough for you to vote to secede from the Union? What other options might you consider as a result of Lincoln's election?

Outcome:
The South Carolina Assembly voted to secede from the Union after hearing of Lincoln's election. The state was joined by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana over the succeeding months. In February of 1861, the seceded states met in Montgomery, Alabama to form the Confederate States of America. Before Lincoln even took the oath of office, he was faced with a constitutional crisis of unprecedented proportion. With the firing on the Federal Fort Sumter, the War between the States had begun. Lincoln's skills as a compromiser were not even given a chance.

Important Concepts:

Authority - In two previous elections, when no candidate received more than 50% of the electoral vote, the decision was thrown into the House. In this instance, a candidate did not receive 50% of the popular vote. Should the House decide this election as well? Why or Why not?

Equality - The South claimed that they no longer had equal representation in the government. Is their claim a valid one? What reforms might be undertake to make government more equal?

Diversity - If you were newly elected President Lincoln how would you respond to claims of non-representation? Would you consider including southerners in important positions of your new government as a compromise?

The Election of 1876: Electoral Controversy

Scenario:

The presidential administration of U.S. Grant was one of the most scandalous in U.S. history. The Credit Mobilier affair and the Whiskey Ring illustrated the troubles of the Executive branch between 1868 and 1876. A major financial collapse (the Panic of 1873) seemed to all but ensure a Democratic victory in the presidential campaign of 1876. The Democrats nominated New York Governor Samuel J. Tilden. Tilden had built a reputation as a reformer and "clean government" advocate. He had been instrumental in bringing down the Boss Tweed political machine in New York City. The Republicans countered by also nominating a reformist candidate who would run against the record of the Grant administration - Rutherford B. Hayes, Governor of Ohio, and Union General in the Civil War. The campaign focused primarily on reform agendas. The Republicans, however, could not resist "waving the bloody shirt" - reminding voters of the Union victory in the Civil War and questioning the patriotism of the Democratic party. A good deal of the South in 1876 was still governed under the provisions of Reconstruction - occupied by federal troops, populated by "carpetbaggers", and administrated by outside interests. Some of the states had been returned to local southern control. In these states, the Democratic party had reestablished itself as the prime political force. In the states still under Reconstruction, Republicans were dominant. In each Southern state, Republicans were interested in a high voter turnout among freed slaves, and in some instances offered to vote on the behalf of these citizens. The Democrats, realizing that this type of high turnout would harm their cause, tried everything in their power to keep blacks away from the polling places - by force if necessary. The election of 1876, then, was marked by widespread voter fraud. In the popular vote, Tilden received some 250,000 more votes than Hayes (out of 8.5 million cast). In the Electoral College, however the results were less clear. Undisputedly, Tilden had won at least 184 votes (1 vote short of the majority needed). Hayes' electoral count totaled 166. 19 electoral votes from 3 states remained in dispute. The states of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana sent in two sets of electoral ballots each. One set indicated a Republican victory, while the other certified the Democratic ticket. Faced with a situation unprecedented in the nation's history, the Congress quickly passed legislation creating an Electoral Commission. This special committee would consist of 15 members and investigate the competing claims from each of the states in question. 5 members each of the Commission would be selected from the House, the Senate, and the Supreme Court. The Democratic controlled House selected 3 Democrats and 2 Republicans, the Republican controlled Senate chose 3 Republicans and 2 Democrats, and the allegedly independent Supreme Court recommended 2 Republican leaning and 2 Democratic backing justices. The Court selected Justice David Davis of Illinois as its 5th representative. Davis was the most politically independent member of the Court. A registered Republican, he was known to back Democratic claims as situations merited.

Activity:

Imagine that you are Supreme Court Justice David Davis. Research and review the claims of both parties in the case of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. For whom would you vote in each instance? What factors influenced your decision?

Outcome:

Ironically, Justice Davis was appointed to the U.S. Senate before the commission had begun its deliberations. He therefore did not participate in the proceedings. The replacement of Davis presented a further problem. All of the remaining justices on the Supreme Court were strong Republicans. Even the most independent remaining justice would swing the vote 8-7 in every case. Over objections from the Democrats, Justice Joseph Bradley was named to the Commission. Indeed, in each instance the Commission voted 8-7 along party lines to accept the Republican electoral delegation. With the 19 additional electoral votes, Hayes defeated Tilden 185-184. One of the provisions of the Act establishing the Electoral Commission provided for a congressional veto of the Commission's findings, but only if both the House and Senate voted to override. Obviously, the Republican controlled Senate was pleased with the result. The House, dominated by Democrats, threatened to delay proceedings until after the scheduled March 4 inauguration date unless certain demands were met. This delay could provide untold embarrassment to the Republicans and potentially create a Constitutional crisis. Finally on March 2, Hayes agreed to the conditions set by the Democratic members of the House. Specifically, he agreed to:

1) End Reconstruction by withdrawing all remaining federal troops;
2) Appoint at least one Southerner to his Cabinet;
3) Allow Southern Democrats to control local patronage positions; and
4) Support generous funding for internal improvements in the South.

Because of the improprieties of the 1876 election and the deal struck to award him the presidency, Hayes became known in Democratic circles as Ruther*fraud* B. Hayes. The scandals of the Grant administration and public distrust of the presidency continued.

In 1887, Congress resolved the electoral vote situation by passing the Electoral Count Act. This law gives each state the final authority in determining the legality of its choice of electors and requires a majority vote in both the U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate to reject a given state's electoral vote.

Important Concepts:

Authority - The Constitution has no provision to deal with this type of situation. How should controversy have been resolved? Was the Electoral Commission the right solution? Who should have final authority over electoral questions?

Promise-Keeping - Must Hayes abide by the provisions of the deal struck with House Democrats? Did he?

Truth - This episode further destroyed public faith and trust in the national government. How might public trust be restored to the Presidency?

The Election of 1912: Progressives All

Scenario:

After completing the unexpired term of assassinated President William McKinley and serving one full term of his own, Theodore Roosevelt decided not to seek re-election in 1908. His hand-picked successor, William Howard Taft, rather easily defeated the perennial democratic nominee William Jennings Bryan in the presidential election. After the election, Roosevelt, confident that the nation was in good hands with the Republican Party, left for an extended tour of Europe and Africa. 16 months later when he returned to the United States, he was dismayed with the lack of progress made under Taft. Many key Republican leaders were already looking toward the 1912 election and urge Roosevelt to announce his candidacy. The Roosevelt presidency had been an activist one, full of progressive reforms. Roosevelt used the presidency as a "bully pulpit" to push for many needed social improvements. Inevitably, he found Taft to be too conservative, too indecisive, and lacking any sense of leadership. He was openly critical of Taft's performance, angering many more mainstream Republicans. The battle for the Presidency in 1912 was now set. The Democrats nominated the reformist, progressive governor of New Jersey Woodrow Wilson, the newly energized Socialist Party again nominated labor leader Eugene V. Debs. Therefore whether the Republicans nominated Taft or Roosevelt, voters would only be faced with a choice among progressive candidates. The question was not in what direction the nation should be headed, but how fast and by what means. Roosevelt put up a tremendous fight for the Republican nomination, defeating Taft in 9 out of the 12 states that held a primary. The incumbent President, however, had the backing of most of the party's leaders and controlled the majority of delegates to the convention. Some moderates in the party suggested a compromise candidate to avoid a bitter fight, but both Taft and Roosevelt refused to consider such an idea. Roosevelt condemned Taft for taking the party in the wrong direction and vowed to continue his fight, but on June 22, the Republican convention voted 561 to 107 to give the nomination to Taft. (344 Roosevelt delegates did not vote as a protest). Clearly Roosevelt was presented with a dilemma. He could begrudgingly accept the party's decision and support President Taft - continuing the Republican dynasty in the White House (For 44 of the past 52 years a Republican had occupied the Presidency), or he could strike out on his own, form an independent run for the presidency and risk a Democratic victory in the Fall.

Activity:

Assume that you are an influential advisor of Theodore Roosevelt. Compile a list of Pro's and Con's involved in undertaking an independent bid for the Presidency. What course of action would you recommend?

Outcome:

Roosevelt formed the Progressive Party within weeks of the Republican convention and announced his intentions to seek the Presidency as this alternative party's candidate. In the general election, the campaign really came down to a contest between Wilson, the Democrat, and Roosevelt. Taft quickly found that while he had the support of the traditional Republican party leaders, most rank and file Republicans preferred Roosevelt. Both Wilson and Roosevelt hit the campaign trail hard, making numerous speeches throughout the country espousing their progressive goals. (Roosevelt in fact survived an assassination attempt when the pages of a speech he was about to give stopped a bullet. Wounded and bleeding, he delivered his hour and a half address anyway.) Wilson won the election in a landslide of electoral votes (wining 40 out of the 48 states). In the popular vote count, he received only 41% - the lowest total of any victor except Lincoln's election in 1860. The results clearly show that had the Taft/Roosevelt split not occurred the Republican party would have continued its domination of the Presidency.

Important Concepts:

Responsibility - Did Roosevelt have a responsibility to the Republican party not to challenge Taft? Did he have a responsibility to the American people to challenge a government that he felt was not living up to expectations?

Diversity - Did the presence of three major candidates give voters more of a choice? Investigate the proposals and positions of the fourth major candidate, Socialist Eugene V. Debs. How did his ideas differ from the others?

Participation - Should the Presidential ballot be limited in any way to avoid candidacies by hopefuls previously rejected by another party?

The Election of 1948: What Happened?

Scenario:

One of the most famous photographs in U.S. history shows President Harry Truman holding aloft a copy of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* newspaper dated November 3, 1948 with the large, bold headline "DEWEY DEFEATS TRUMAN." Why is Truman smiling?

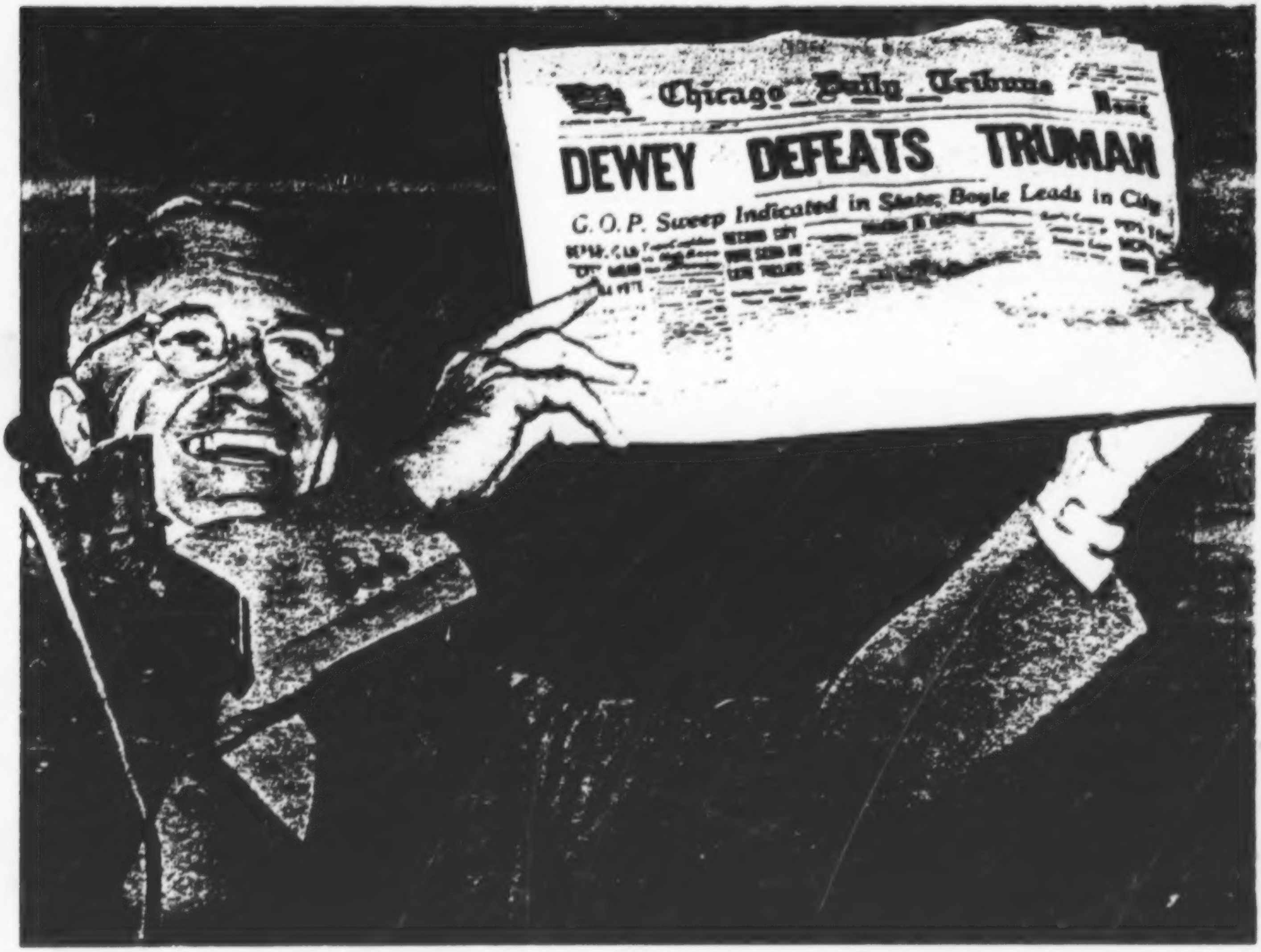
Heading into the 1948 presidential campaign, the Republicans were assured of victory. After 4 terms of Democratic control of the executive branch, they were confident that the American public wanted change. Signs of this desire for a change could be seen in the 1946 Congressional elections when the Republican party took control of both the House and the Senate. The Republicans nominated a strong ticket in 1948 with Governors Tom Dewey of New York and Earl Warren of California their candidates for President and Vice-President. Republican hopes were further encouraged when the Democratic party decided to stick with Harry Truman as their nominee. The Democrats adopted a series of civil rights planks in their party platform, causing a major split with southern conservatives. This faction of the party nominated their own candidate, South Carolina Governor Strom Thurmond, to run as a "Dixiecrat". The liberal wing of the Democratic party was not pleased with the selection of Truman either. Progressives also nominated their own candidate - former V-P Henry Wallace of Iowa.

With the Democratic Party split three ways, a newly-elected Republican Congress, and growing public dissatisfaction with the Truman administration, Republicans expected an easy campaign. Right after Labor Day, traditionally the official start of the campaign, opinion polls showed Dewey with an "unbeatable" lead over Truman 44% - 31%. In early October, odds-makers called Dewey a 15-1 favorite. By mid-October, most major newspapers and news magazines had conceded the election to Dewey and were running articles previewing the new Republican administration. The day before the election, polls indicated that Dewey had a huge lead. The Gallup poll found Dewey with 49.5%, Truman with 44.5%, Wallace at 4% , and Thurmond = 2%. The Roper poll showed an even wider gap. Its' scientific poll indicated Dewey had support of 52.2% of likely voters, Truman was supported by 37.1%, Thurmond's support equaled 5.2%, while Wallace trailed with 4.3% of the expected vote. The *New York Times* predicted that Dewey would win 29 states with 345 electoral votes, Truman would capture 11 states with 105 electoral votes, Thurmond would secure 4 states (38 electoral votes), with 4 states still undecided. The actual results were much different:

Truman (Democrat)	24,105,587	49.51%	28 states	303 electoral
Dewey (Republican)	21,970,017	45.12%	16 states	189 electoral
Thurmond (States Rights)	1,169,134	2.40%	4 states	39 electoral
Wallace (Progressive)	1,157,057	2.38%	0 states	0 electoral

Not only did Truman defeat Dewey in the presidential contest, the Democrats resoundingly recaptured a majority in both the House and the Senate.

Activity:
You are a reporter with the Chicago Daily Tribune newspaper. Your editor has given you an assignment to do an investigative article on the 1948 presidential election entitled "What Happened?" Choose any aspect of the campaign and explain how your newspaper could have made such a huge mistake.


Chicago Daily Tribune
DEWEY DEFEATS TRUMAN
G.O.P. Sweep Indicated in State; Boyle Leads in City

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Outcome:

The presidential election of 1948 illustrates why in our democratic society we require people to vote rather than rely on statistically scientific public opinion polls. Truman's victory over Dewey can be explained any number of ways. Most political scientists tend to agree on 4 general areas.

1) Truman brought his campaign to the people. By far, Truman was the more active campaigner. Between Labor Day and Election Day, Truman logged more than 30,000 miles on his "whistle stop" tour of the United States. He delivered 356 speeches in this time period alone and talked about issues that common, everyday people could relate to - employment, wages, housing, civil rights.

2) Dewey relied too much on the public opinion polls. Believing that he enjoyed a tremendous lead in the polls, Dewey spent much of the campaign talking about "unity" and other abstract issues. By doing so, he may have positioned himself right out of the contest.

3) Truman made Congress the issue not his own administration. Truman pointed to the Republican controlled 80th Congress elected in 1946 and asked the people about results. He said that he understood why voters may have turned Democrats out of office in 1946, but that two years later without results, the Republicans had had their chance. In an inspired political move, Truman called the 80th Congress back into a special session during the summer of 1948 and challenged the Republicans to pass the legislation that they touted in their presidential platform. Of course, it was unrealistic to expect sweeping progress in one month, but when the legislature failed to meet Truman's challenge, he campaigned against the "Do-Nothing Republican Congress."

4) The Public opinion polls themselves contained some important mistaken assumptions. Opinion polling in 1948 was still an inexact science (as demonstrated by the election results). For one thing, pollsters made the assumption that everyone who said that they intended to vote would indeed cast a ballot. In addition, the polls conducted did not really probe for the level of candidate commitment. People were asked who they intended to vote for, but were not asked how strongly they felt for that candidate. Weak support is always susceptible to last minute changing of minds.

Truman's campaign struck a populist cord. When contrasted to Dewey's aloof style, Truman's "feistiness" gave voters hope for the change they were seeking. Many would-be Republican voters stayed home, believing that their voted were not necessary. Other indecisive voters may have cast their votes for Truman out of sympathy for the underdog. Whatever the case, Truman's election ranks as one of the greatest upsets and one of the greatest journalistic embarrassments in U.S. history.

Important Concepts:

Responsibility - What is the responsibility of the media to report accurate information to voters?

Participation - What motivates some voters to go to the polls while others stay home?

The Election of 1972: Power of the Press

Scenario:
Senator Edmund Muskie (Maine) was the leading candidate for the Democratic nomination for the presidency. Muskie had been the Democrats' Vice-Presidential candidate in 1968. As the New Hampshire Primary (the first contest of the nomination process) neared, a letter appeared in the conservative Manchester, NH *Union Leader* newspaper alleging that Muskie had made derogatory comments about Canadians. (Much later it was determined that this letter was a fraud planted by members of President Nixon's Committee to Re-Elect the President). Less than a week later the same newspaper criticized Muskie's wife for using "earthy" language. Muskie was infuriated with what he considered to be personal attacks. He held a press conference in front of the newspaper's office where he defended his wife and criticized the newspaper's editor. In an emotional exchange in the snow and cold, Muskie appeared to lose his composure. There is some uncertainty as to whether he started to cry. The next day the newspaper ran a scathing indictment of Muskie and questioned whether "he's not the man that many of us would want to have his finger on the nuclear button." Muskie went on to win the New Hampshire primary, but not by the margin expected. After poor showings in both Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, he withdrew from the race for the nomination.

Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, one of the more liberal candidates seeking the nomination, eventually won the Democratic bid for the Presidency. At the national convention, McGovern selected Missouri Senator Thomas Eagleton to be his running-mate. Shortly after the announcement, it was revealed by the media that Eagleton had undergone electric shock therapy for "depression" and had been hospitalized for "nervous exhaustion and fatigue." Eagleton maintained that these episodes took place well in the past and were no longer of concern. McGovern agreed. He stated that he was "1000 percent for Tom Eagleton and had no intention of dropping him from the ticket." Under increasing pressure from the national media (and most likely some behind the scenes pressure from Democratic Party leaders), Eagleton was eventually forced to step down as the vice-presidential nominee.

Activity:
As a reporter for a national news syndicate, determine whether and what you would have reported about each event. How much importance would you give to each episode? On what page would you run the story? How long of an article? What headline? To what extent should a candidate's personal life or behavior influence media coverage? Can you come up with any hard and fast criteria for determining whether to report on a controversial incident or event?

Outcome:

As a result of these incidents and others, the Democratic Party was left in a state of disarray. The Republican candidate, incumbent President Richard Nixon, was re-elected by a landslide of historic proportions winning more than 60% of the popular vote, 49 states, and 520 electoral votes. Less than a year after his second inauguration, however, stories began to circulate about Nixon's involvement in a number of "dirty tricks" during the campaign. Included in these was a break-in of the Democratic National headquarters in Washington, D.C.'s Watergate Hotel. It was Nixon's cover-up of this incident that directly led to his resignation in August of 1974.

As a result of the Watergate controversy, reporters more frequently turned their attention to "investigative journalism". Included in this new style of reporting is the digging into political candidate's personal lives to reveal potentially damaging information. In the 1988 nomination campaign Colorado Senator Gary Hart withdrew from the race as a result of this type of coverage. Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton weathered the storm in 1992 to gain the Democratic nomination, and eventually the presidency.

Important Concepts:

Privacy - What degree of privacy do candidates for high office maintain? What aspects of a candidate's private life should the public have access to?

Responsibility - Do the Media have a responsibility to select what news to report regardless of its impact, relevance or truth?

Truth - Who should be the guardian of truth in an election campaign? When allegations are made, should it be the media, the candidate in question, the public or some other body who check out the facts?

SECTION VI

CAMPAIGN & ELECTION REFORM

- The Presidential Nomination Process - Reform?
- Counting the Votes for President - Is There a Better Way?
- Electronic Democracy: New Technologies and the Political Process

CAMPAIGN & ELECTION REFORM

The Presidential Nomination Process - *Reform?*

The current presidential candidate nomination process has been roundly criticized for its length, selectivity, hype, and confusion. Yet despite these attacks, there has been no recent formal attempt to overhaul or modify the process. This section allows students to do just that. By reviewing critiques of the present system and examining alternatives, students may devise their own solutions to the problems identified with the presidential nomination process.

Procedure:

1. Distribute "Thoughts on the Current Nomination Process" to student to read and consider. As a result of the reading, lead a discussion focusing on how the current nomination process operates (most U.S. Government texts include a brief description) and the basic criticisms of this process.

2. The discussion provides a good lead-in to student reading of "Problems with the Current Nomination Process." This selection touches on 7 basic criticisms with the current process. As students read, they should think about developing criteria to objectively assess the nomination system or potential alternatives. For example, write on the blackboard "The Presidential Nomination Process should be ..." and ask that students provide adjectives to complete the sentence. As they provide descriptors, have them explain what they mean so that everyone in the class understands. Sample:

The Presidential Nomination Process should be ...

- **Efficient** - leadership selection should take place in a relatively short period of time with a minimum of confusion.

- **Consensus Building** - everyone involved should agree with the results. The process itself should not be an issue in determining a party representative.

- **Issue-oriented** - strive to select candidates based on what they say, not on how they appear.

- **Fair** - allowing all candidates and all voters an opportunity to review issues and alternatives.

- **Reasonable** and **Relevant** - We must not lose sight of what the process is all about - selecting a good President.

- **Democratic** - allowing everyone to participate - but must not lose sight of the fact that it results in the selection of a party candidate.

- **Legitimate** - It should result in the selection of the party's official candidate; someone who upholds all that the party stands for.

3. Students compare and discuss criteria. Is there a class consensus for certain items? List all potential criteria on the board and discuss as whole class. Try to come to some agreement on 10 criteria or less. These will be used to analyze the alternative proposals in the next activities. Keep in mind that the ultimate goal of the nomination process is to **Attract** and **Select** the *Best* candidate to represent the political party in the general election.

4. As a whole class, use newly devised criteria to evaluate the current nomination process. On a scale of 1-10 (10 = highest), how well does the current system meet each of the individual standards. (Simply awarding a number to each category is not enough. Students must justify their ratings with examples or comment.)

5. Once the class as a whole has stepped through the analysis of the current process and has established a baseline evaluative score, divide students into small analysis groups. Each group will examine the six alternatives discussed in "Proposals for Reform" and rate in the same manner as the current process. (Note: a group size of 3 or 6 is recommended. This way each member of the group has the primary analytical responsibility for 1 or 2 proposals and can lead group discussion accordingly.)

6. Compare group findings. Is there one or two proposals that emerge as clear favorites? Why? Abandoning these formal proposals can the students come up with a better alternative (perhaps one which combines strong aspects of others)? Send class findings to your Senator or Congressional Representative for comment.

Extra Activity:
Compare the U.S. nomination system with British selection process as described briefly below- What are the advantages and disadvantages of each system?

Source: Anthony King, "How Not to Select Presidential Candidates: A View from Europe" in Analyzing the Presidency (1990), Robert DiClerico, editor.

In Britain, party leaders work their way up through the governmental and parliamentary system gaining expertise, power, and experience. When in power, party members serve in official posts as Cabinet Ministers or Assistants; when in opposition they occupy positions in a "shadow government" in which they do much the same work as the party in power, but incorporate their own party perspective and beliefs. Since party leadership in the British parliament is determined by party insiders, work and stature within the party is valued more highly than public image and popularity.

The selection process to choose people to fill leadership positions and candidates for Prime Minister are determined with the following factors in mind:

1) Experience and time served within the party
2) National level offices held
3) Assessment by fellow politicians

The campaigns themselves take place over a short period of time (usually a few weeks, culminating in a party convention or retreat). The campaigns involve discussion of party direction and vision and rarely involve personalities and the families of candidates. The party itself picks up the cost of the campaigns, thereby eliminating the need by individual candidates to raise large sums of money. Only party members may participate in leadership selection. Because of the way parliamentary elections are conducted, the selection of a candidate for Prime Minister is not based on electoral considerations such as geography or number of electoral votes. In the general election, voters choose a party, not a candidate, therefore party identification, party beliefs, and party policy proposals are emphasized.

Thoughts on the Current Nomination Process

Senator Bob Packwood (R-Oregon):
No decision of this magnitude is made with so little logic...Our Primary exercise now resembles more a snowball racing downhill than a rational, human method designed to choose our leader.

Senator Terry Sanford (D-NC):
Our present procedure for nominating presidential candidates is a process of elimination... all right for deciding the NCAA basketball championship, but it hardly serves well the American republic...A burning desire to be president, a necessary trait under today's rules, is not the most admirable characteristic for a president, but we have made it the most essential ... We need a process that makes it easier for (all well qualified) people to be considered.

Professor James Sundquist:
A party's nominee for president now is someone who has been able to devote enough time to shaking hands in the early primary and caucus states and to forming an effective get-out-the-vote organization, who has raised enough money to put himself on television throughout the primary season, and who has proved to have more popular appeal.

Walter Cronkite, Television Journalist:
One of the greatest disappointments of our time is our Presidential campaigns. We face these vast and great issues, those that directly affect us, those for tomorrow, those for next year, those for a decade hence ... we need desperately a national debate on these issues. We need to go to the people every once in a while - and four years is a good time - with these issues clearly enunciated and clearly approached with solutions provided, or attacks on the problem at least suggested, by the candidates. We are finding that the campaigns get slicker in the media sense, and that the candidates do not face the issues they should ... (there's) no substance in the darn thing at all.

Charles Manatt, former chair of the Democratic National Committee:
We are perilously close to the moment when the nominee will be "the last survivor".

Senator Alan Cranston (D-California):
Primaries do not tell us how well a candidate will delegate authority. Nor do they demonstrate his ability to choose the best people for top government posts ... Primaries don't tell us how effective a candidate will be in dealing with Congress, nor how capable a candidate will be at moving the national power structure, nor how good an educator of the American public a candidate would really be as president ... Primaries do not adequately test the courage and wisdom in decision making - yet those are the ultimate test of a good president.

Michael Walzer, Journalist & Political Philosopher:
The purpose of the party system is to provide us with candidates who represent a certain set of interests, not some random, self-selected portion of the general electorate. Its purpose is also to provide us with candidates whose positions are widely and dependably known and who are likely to stand by those positions because they are tied into a stable network of commitments and alliances. A democracy needs candidates of this sort, or the election loses all political form, and degenerates into a public relations contest. And only candidates like this can govern effectively.

Problems with the Current Nomination Process

Below is a discussion of some of the basic criticisms leveled at the current presidential nomination process. As you read them, consider:

- Is the criticism valid? or does it sound more like sour grapes?
- What changes could be made to correct any problems?
- What criteria can be generated to assess the usefulness of the process or alternatives to the current system?

1) Time - I

While party primaries and caucuses to select a candidate officially last 5 months (February - June), the campaign actually lasts much longer. It is not uncommon to see potential candidates making appearances and setting up organizations in Iowa and New Hampshire two years before the presidential election. The resulting campaign represents more of a fight for survival rather than rational selection among candidates. Because of its length, the nomination process tends to favor those candidates with a lot of time on their hands, especially former office holders. Many excellent candidates choose not to seek their party's presidential nomination solely due to the time commitment involved.

2) Inconclusive Results

Primaries, for a variety of reasons, do not give an accurate indication of the voters' candidate preference: 1) Not all candidates enter a primary; 2) The presence of multiple candidates results in a plurality winner who is not preferred by a majority. Since only a voter's first choice is counted, it is possible in a multi-candidate race for a relatively unpopular candidate to win; 3) Primary elections are given meaning by the standards used in interpreting them. For example, being designated as the front runner by the media entails risks, for one's performance is evaluated in terms of how strongly one wins rather than in terms of whether one wins or not.

3. Overemphasis on Media

Increasingly candidate selection has become a media event. TV news coverage plays a significant role in determining who wins the nomination. Early in the process, when there are many prospective candidates, those candidates who are "taken seriously" by the news media, especially by television, have a much better chance to survive the primaries and caucuses. Because the majority of delegates to national party conventions are picked through these events, favorable exposure through the mass media is absolutely necessary for hopeful candidates. Therefore, campaigns are created with television in mind. The reliance on "sound bites" and "good visuals" has contributed to a lack of personal contact between candidates and voters.

4. Time - II

Once the actual selection process (primaries and caucuses) has begun, timing becomes a crucial factor in a different way. The first contests usually occur in early to mid-February of an election year. The process continues until early June, with national party conventions meeting in July and August. However, because of the increased attention placed on the early stages of the campaign (particularly in New Hampshire and Iowa), many states have moved up the date for their own contests. The result is a heavily front-loaded system where more than 60% of all convention delegates have already been chosen by March. It is possible for a candidate to have won the nomination before a majority of voters have even had a chance to look over all the alternatives. Because of the crowded schedule, each victory, defeat, mediocre showing, misstatement, and gains in momentum are magnified and have an exaggerated importance in upcoming primaries and caucuses. The focus becomes the "horse race", not issues.

5. Campaigner v. Executive

It is a totally unrealistic assumption that a person who is good at running for president will be good at running the Presidency. Since the race for the nomination has become a marathon, campaigning, with its endless exhaustions, brief encounters, and pleadings for money and attention, tests qualities of physical endurance and image, but not much else. The gap between what a candidate for president wants to do in January of an election year and what s/he can do the following January once in office is enormous. Pressed for specifics during the campaign, the candidate, aides and advisors expend their intellectual energies composing position papers that are not frequently cited after inauguration day. The fundamental reason is not that the candidates lie but that such detailed blueprints for government action are drawn up out of context and without taking into consideration the realities of Washington power structure. It's like asking a doctor to prescribe for a patient s/he has yet to meet.

6. Who Should Decide?

Certainly in looking to select a nominee for the general presidential election, a party should keep an eye on the general population and try to identify a candidate who appeals to a majority of voters. But similarly, the party, in nominating a candidate for president, is choosing its leader. The candidate should stand for the values, principles, and policies of the party. If the general public overwhelmingly rejects this candidate, the party itself must reevaluate its message and what it represents. Should primaries and caucuses designed to select the party nominee be open to all Americans of voting age or limited to party faithful? The current system allows for total participation, but does it result in the best candidate?

7) Influence of Party

The party system developed, in part, to provide stability and reliability to politics. A candidate representing a particular party could be assumed to uphold the basic beliefs and principles of that organization. In recent elections, the role of the party has diminished to such an extent that it is no longer valid to assume that a candidate champions certain ideas due to his or her party affiliation. With candidates essentially campaigning as individuals apart from the party structure, the nomination process has become a public relations contest. In the past, an important screening process was performed by the party. With some measure of choice left open to party leaders, there was some assurance that candidates would meet certain minimum standards.

The Nomination Process - Evaluating Alternatives

Proposal:	Criteria 1	Criteria 2	Criteria 3	Criteria 4	Criteria 5	Criteria 6	Criteria 7	Criteria 8	Criteria 9	Criteria 10	Total
Current Process											
National Primary											
State Primary Day											
National Post-Conv. Primary											
Regional Primaries											
Approval Voting											
Limited Primary Dates											

THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION PROCESS

Proposals for Reform

Below are 6 proposals to reform the presidential nominating system. Using the criteria you have developed, evaluate each plan: Is it better, worse, or no change from the current process?

NATIONAL PRIMARY

Congress would establish a single national primary for each party on a designated day. The primary would be open only to party members (though a voter could declare party membership up to the day of the primary). Candidates would qualify for the national primary by filing petitions from 17 states (1/3 of all states) with a number of signatures equal to at least 1% of each state's vote in the previous presidential election. On primary day, if no one candidate were to receive 40% or more of the vote, a runoff election between the top two or three vote-getters would be held within a few weeks. The national conventions could still be held. These bodies would select the vice presidential nominee, adopt the platform, and conduct other party business.

STATE PRIMARY DAY

A proposal related to the National Primary system would have Congress establish a day on which all state primaries, using the same rules, would be held. Each state would choose its delegates to the national convention proportionate to the primary vote in that state. For example, a candidate receiving 25% of the vote in Ohio and 40% in Iowa would receive 25% of the Ohio convention delegates and 40% of the Iowa delegates. A minimum level would be established, below which a candidate would receive no delegate votes. The national conventions would follow current procedures to determine the party nominees.

NATIONAL POST-CONVENTION PRIMARY

The national post-convention primary system begins with a fairly complex series of events from May through August of the election year. Each state would be required to use a statewide caucus/convention system, beginning the first week in May, for selecting convention delegates. Rules would be determined by national parties. Any party member who registered in the caucuses would be eligible to vote in the post convention primary. National conventions would be held in July. A delegate selected by a party's state convention would be required to vote for his/her state convention's choice on the first ballot at the national convention. 25 % of each state's delegation would be reserved for party and elective officials. These delegates could vote for any candidate of their choosing. On the second ballot of the national convention all but the three top candidates would be dropped and all delegates would be free to vote for any of the remaining candidates. Any candidate who received 70 % or more of the national convention vote on the second or subsequent ballot would automatically be the party's nominee for the general election. Otherwise, the top two or three finishers (a minimum of 25-30 % of the convention vote would be required) would appear on the ballot in a national primary to be held in early September. Voters would decide the nominee by a plurality vote. Each party's nominee then would select his/her vice presidential running mate from a list supplied by the national convention.

REGIONAL PRIMARIES

Under this plan the United States would be divided into 5 or 6 regions (e.g. Northeast, Midwest, etc.). Within a region, each state would be required to hold its primary or caucus on the same day. The dates, in equal intervals between March and July, would be assigned by a random drawing in mid-December to discourage early campaigning. All declared candidates would be placed on the ballot by a federal commission. To withdraw from a ballot, a candidate would have to file a statement in each region declaring that s/he was not, and did not intend to become, a candidate. This would prevent against some candidates picking and choosing between regions. A candidate must appear on all of the ballots or none. Candidates receiving more than 5% of the vote in any state would be eligible for an equal proportion of that state's delegates to the national convention. Each delegate chosen would be obligated to vote for that presidential candidate at the national convention either for two ballots, until the candidate's vote falls below 20% of the national convention total, or until the candidate officially withdraws. As under current procedure, each party's nominee will be that candidate who receives more than 50% of the delegate total.

APPROVAL VOTING

In a primary election, as in most other elections in the United States, voters have no way of expressing their second or third choices. Each voter casts a single ballot for the one candidate of choice. The candidate with the most votes wins. In this situation, it is possible for a "fringe" candidate to win if all of the other candidates cancel each other out. Under approval voting, voters could cast ballots for all of the candidates that they liked or felt that they could support. Therefore, on a ballot with 7 candidates, a voter might select five, six, or even all seven names. The candidate with the most total votes - presumably the most widely acceptable candidate - would win the primary. The party conventions would continue to follow current guidelines.

LIMITED PRIMARY DATES

This proposal would restrict the delegate selection process to a three-month period and limit state primaries to four or five specific dates equally distributed within that period. By clustering state primaries on a few specific dates, this proposal would lessen the importance of the early state contests (like New Hampshire and Iowa) and minimize the ability of the media to identify "winners" and "losers". Individual states would determine the specific dates to hold their primaries. With a number of primaries in various regions on the same day, credible candidates would be less likely to fall victim to early knockouts. The staggered dates, separated by three to four weeks, would allow candidates time to travel and also would provide the media with more space in which to report the candidates' views, since, unlike the current system, each week would not feature new contests that the press felt compelled to forecast, report, and analyze.

CAMAPIGN & ELECTION REFORM

Counting the Votes for President - *Is There a Better Way ?*

Introduction:
The Electoral College was created by the nation's founders to ensure well-reasoned and informed selection of the President. Over the past 200+ years, it has worked pretty well. However, each presidential election season brings with it renewed calls to reform the electoral college. This section involves students by having them analyze each of the major proposed alternatives to assess whether each fulfills fundamental democratic goals. Which system is the most fair? the most equal? guarantees the widest participation? the greatest diversity? As a result of their evaluation of these proposals, your students may be able to devise a workable alternative of their own.

Procedure:
1. Introduce/review the basics of the Electoral College System. (All major U.S. Government and U.S. History texts will include such a description.) You may wish to use the following questions to focus the discussion:

- *Why was the Electoral College created?*
- *How is a state's electoral vote determined?*
- *Why did some states have more/less electoral votes than in 1988?*
- *Identify those states that gained or lost electoral votes.*
- *What is the minimum number of electoral votes needed to win?*
- *What is the minimum number of states that a candidate would need to carry in order to win the election? List those states.*
- *How do you think the above list might influence a candidate's strategy? Explain.*
- *Which candidates won these key states in 1992? 1988?*

2. Students read "The Electoral College and Calls for Reform" and "Electing the President". As a class, review 1992 election results and analyze each of the alternative methods of selection. Step through the "Election Analysis" form to familiarize students with the procedure needed to answer the questions.

3. Divide students into 5 work groups. Each group will be responsible for examining one presidential election in detail (1960, 1968, 1976, 1980, 1988). Each group's task is to analyze the election using the 5 formats described. After answering the analytical questions, the groups should be encouraged to identify both the positive and negative aspects of each plan based on important democratic considerations. (The concepts of *Authority, Participation, Liberty, Justice, Equality, Diversity*, and *Responsibility* are described briefly in "The Electoral College and Calls for Reform".) Each group will select the format that they feel is the most appropriate method of electing the President. (A group may combine features of different proposals or come up with an entirely new system.)

4. Compare the recommendations of the groups. Does any single electoral process gain widespread approval? Challenge students to come up with the best possible system. Present this proposal to a member of your congressional delegation.

Election Analysis
Alternative Vote Proposals

Candidate	Electoral	Direct	Proportional	State	District (Iowa)	District (U.S)
Republican						
(1960)	219	34,106,671	264.75	26	8 + 2 (10)	228 + 52 (280)
(1968)	301	31,785,148	232	32	7 + 2 (9)	226 + 64 (290)
(1976)	240	39,146,006	258.75	27	5 + 2 (7)	210 + 54 (264)
Democrat						
(1960)	303	34,221,344	266.5	23	0	206 + 46 (252)
(1968)	191	31,274,503	226.25	14	0	162 + 28 (190)
(1976)	297	40,829,046	270.5	24	1	226 + 48 (274)
Major Independent						
(1960)	15*	N/A	5.75***	1	0	3 + 2 (5)
(1968)	46	9,901,151	79.75***	5	0	48 + 10 (58)
(1976)	1**	N/A	8.75***	0	0	N/A

* *In 1960, Democratic Senator Harry Byrd received 6 of Alabama's 11 electoral votes, 1 of Oklahoma's 8 votes, and all of Mississippi's 6 elecoral votes.*

** *In 1976, 1 Washington state elector cast a vote for Ronald Reagan*

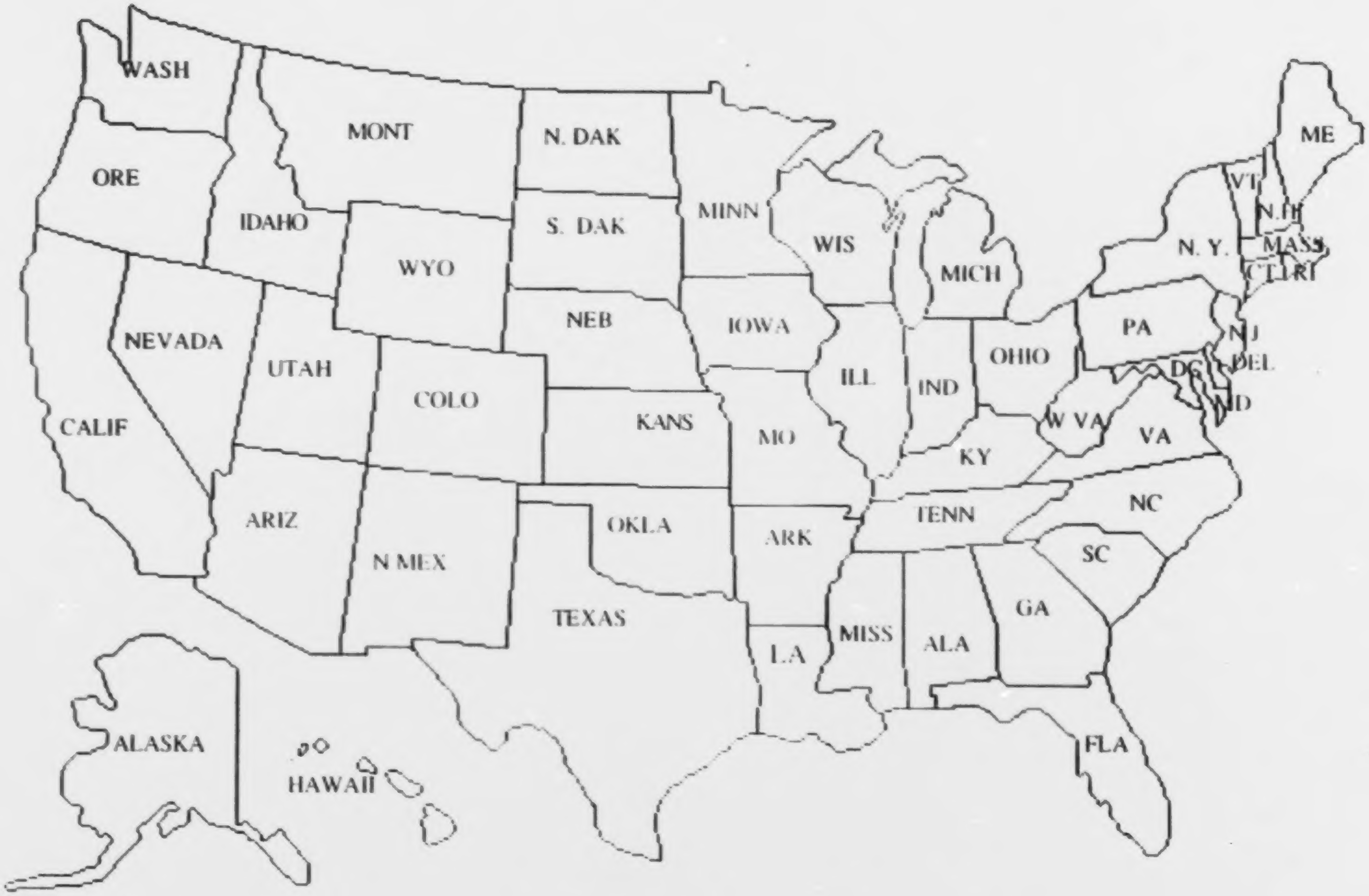
***. *Proportional totals may vary slightly due to rounding differences. Totals for Independents include votes cast for ALL "other" candidates and are not an accurate reflection of individual 3rd party candidates in the election.*

Election Analysis
Alternative Vote Proposals

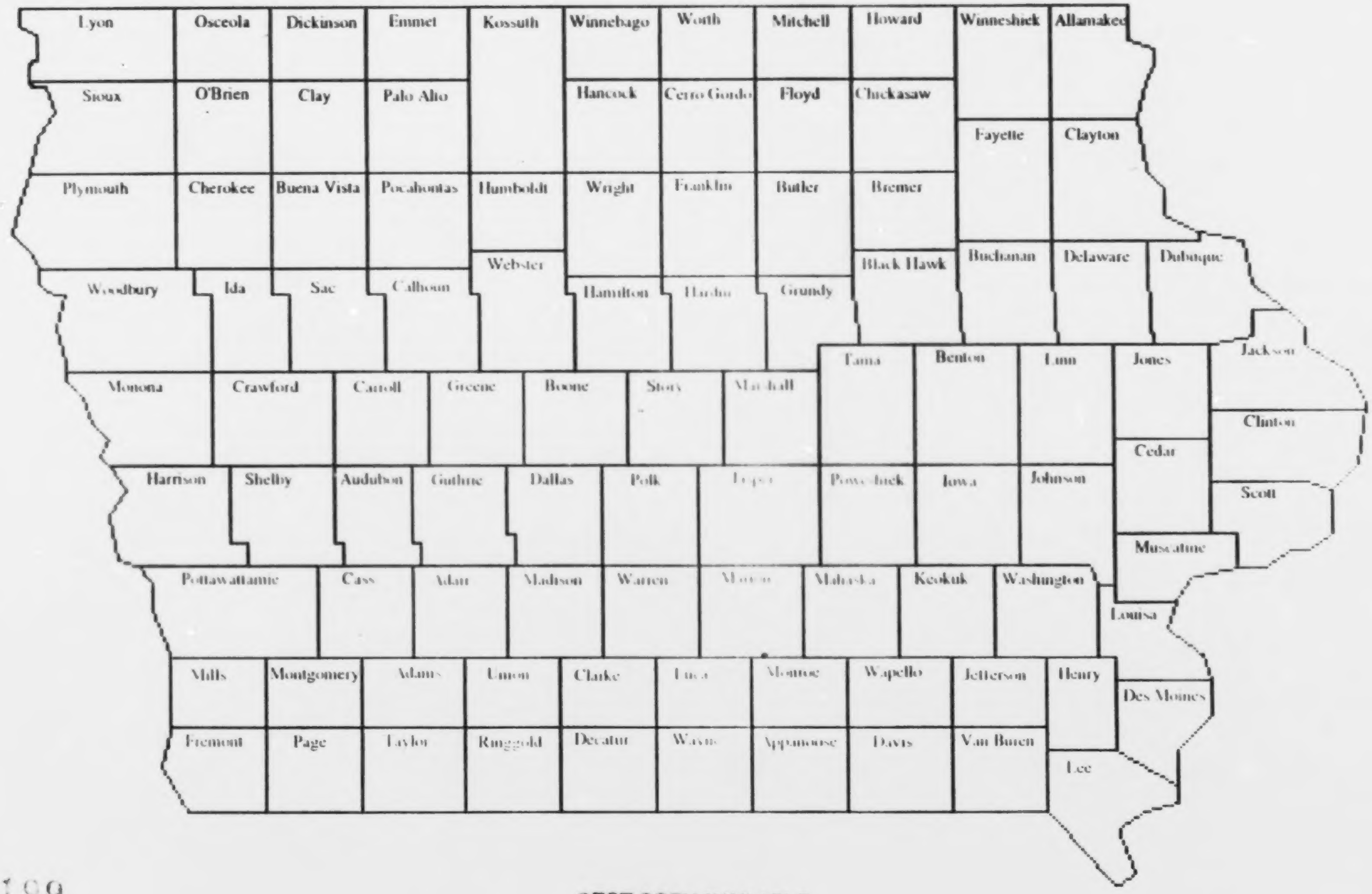
Candidate	Electoral	Direct	Proportional	State	District (Iowa)	District (U.S)
Republican						
(1980)	489	43,904,153	274.75	44	6 + 2 (8)	306 + 88 (394)
(1988)	426	48,886,097	290.5	40	1	297 + 80 (377)
(1992)	168	39,103,882	203	18	1	177 + 36 (213)
Democrat						
(1980)	49	35,483,883	220	7	0	130 + 14 (144)
(1988)	111	41,809,074	247.5	11	5 + 2 (7)	139 + 22 (161)
(1992)	370	44,909,326	231.75	33	4 + 2 (6)	259 + 66 (325)
Major Independent						
(1980)	0	5,720,060	43.25	0	0	0
(1988)	1*	N/A	N/A	0	0	N/A
(1992)	0	19,741,659	103.25**	0	0	0

* *In 1988, 1 elector from West Virginia cast a vote for Lloyd Bentsen (Dem. V-P candidate).*

** *Proportional totals may vary slightly due to rounding differences. Totals for Independents include votes cast for ALL "other" candidates and are not an accurate reflection of individual 3rd party candidates in the election.*


WASH
MONT
N. DAK
MINN
ME
ORE
IDAHO
S. DAK
WIS
VT
N.H
WYO
MICH
N. Y.
MASS
CT
RI
NEB
IOWA
PA
NJ
NEVADA
UTAH
OHIO
DEL
DC
ILL
IND
COLO
MD
CALIF
KANS
MO
W VA
VA
KY
NC
OKLA
TENN
ARIZ
ARK
SC
N MEX
TEXAS
GA
MISS
ALA
LA
ALASKA
FLA
HAWAII

IOWA


Lyon
Osceola
Dickinson
Emmet
Kossuth
Winnebago
Worth
Mitchell
Howard
Winneshiek
Allamakee
Sioux
O'Brien
Clay
Palo Alto
Hancock
Cerro Gordo
Floyd
Chickasaw
Fayette
Clayton
Plymouth
Cherokee
Buena Vista
Pocahontas
Humboldt
Wright
Franklin
Butler
Bremer
Webster
Black Hawk
Buchanan
Delaware
Dubuque
Woodbury
Ida
Sac
Calhoun
Hamilton
Hardin
Grundy
Tama
Benton
Linn
Jones
Jackson
Monona
Crawford
Carroll
Greene
Boone
Story
Marshall
Clinton
Cedar
Harrison
Shelby
Audubon
Guthrie
Dallas
Polk
Jasper
Poweshiek
Iowa
Johnson
Scott
Muscatine
Pottawattamie
Cass
Adair
Madison
Warren
Marion
Mahaska
Keokuk
Washington
Louisa
Mills
Montgomery
Adams
Union
Clarke
Lucas
Monroe
Wapello
Jefferson
Henry
Des Moines
Fremont
Page
Taylor
Ringgold
Decatur
Wayne
Appanoose
Davis
Van Buren
Lee

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Electoral College and Calls for Reform

Since 1797 when Representative William Smith (S.C.) introduced the first proposed constitutional amendment to reform the electoral college system, hardly a session of Congress has passed without the introduction of one or more similar resolutions. But only one - the 12th Amendment, ratified in 1804 - has ever been approved. In more recent years, public interest in a change in the electoral college system has been spurred by close elections in 1960, 1968, and 1976 and by serious independent candidate challenges in 1968, 1980, and 1992. In each of these elections, a slight variation in the number of votes cast or the official process used to count votes would have resulted in different outcomes or, worse yet, constitutional crisis.

Why has there been all of the uproar about the Electoral College system? After all, in the 51 presidential elections conducted since our nation's founding only 2 have resulted in selection by the House of Representatives. There is not much in society that has operated for 200+ years at 96% efficiency. No doubt there have been some close calls. For example, had Kennedy not won New York in 1960 or had Nixon not carried California in 1968, both presidential elections would have been decided in the House of Representatives. This type of speculation has led to a call to reexamine the process by which we choose our president. It may well be that the Electoral College remains the most fair and efficient process. However, there may be a better way.

The framers of the Constitution invented the office of elector because they worried that the ordinary voter would not be informed about presidential candidates from outside of his own state. Without political parties, campaigns, and nationwide newspapers, how could a Massachusetts farmer make a wise choice between a Virginian and a New Yorker, whose names he probably had never heard? But in each state, voters or their representatives in the state legislature could select citizens with a knowledge of national affairs and trust them to choose the president. Originally electors were not pledged to any candidate; they were expected to use their own judgment. Today, it is expected that electors will cast their votes for the candidate receiving the most popular votes in their states.

In 1787, electors were an ingenious and necessary invention. Today, with instant access to information, voters are capable of making choices for themselves. But the Electoral College serves other important functions as well. America is not a homogenous country. The electoral college forces presidential candidates to wage inclusive, broad-based national campaigns. It is not possible to win the presidency by appealing to a single region of the country or to a narrow segment of the electorate. The current system also gives legitimacy to a president who wins the popular vote with a bare majority (or in some instances, without a majority at all). For example, Ronald Reagan won an Electoral College landslide in 1980, but received only 50.7% of the vote. Since the electoral college vote determines the president, Reagan's victory was not questioned. The necessity to pull together a coalition of states whose electoral votes total at least 270 forces candidates to pay attention to specific concerns. While small states have a disproportionate influence on the election under the current process, the electoral vote system tends to de-emphasize the power of national media campaigns. Candidates must address the needs of each state or groups of states individually.

Critics claim that the Electoral College system is outdated and no longer serves the needs of the people. In fact, some believe that the current process actually is dangerous to democracy. With the possibility of an election being decided by Congress (an institution most people today don't trust) hanging over our heads, the potential for corruption is ever present. Constitutional scholar Elizabeth McCaughey holds that "Today Americans still tolerate the obsolete Electoral College, but their patience would turn to rage if they thought a behind-the-scenes deal was made to choose the president without their consent." She believes that "the system should be modernized ... to conform to our democratic values."

Indeed, key democratic values should be used to analyze and evaluate the Electoral College and proposed alternatives. Let's look at some of the basic issues involved:

- **Authority** - Obviously, the most basic question involves how we should choose our political leader.
- **Participation & Liberty** - To what extent do the people maintain a right to choose their president? Does the current system of indirect election uphold this right of popular sovereignty?
- **Justice** - Any process of selection must be fair to everyone involved. Is the current system fair to all of the states? Do some states have more say than others?
- **Equality** - The process must allow all candidates to be considered equally. Similarly, the principle of 1 person - 1 vote should be upheld. Does the current electoral college system have a built in bias?
- **Diversity** - The president is elected to serve all of the people. The selection system should ensure that the victorious candidate must gain support from diverse regions and people.
- **Responsibility** - The first civic responsibility of the people in a democracy is to participate in the election of representatives. Does the current process encourage the people to fulfill this obligation?

On Election Night 1992, President Bush called it "majestic" that the powers of the presidency can be handed peacefully from one leader to the next after each election. For more than 200 years, Americans have recognized the winner of the election as their legitimate leader, even after the most divisive contest. The question to be considered is how best to maintain this unparalleled achievement.

Electing the President

Below is a description of the electoral college format that the U.S. uses to select a president every four years. Four alternatives to the Electoral College are also described. This activity will let you decide which plan is the best way to elect our President.

Electoral College System:

Each state has an electoral college vote equal to the number of its Congressional representation (Senate + House delegation). Voters in each state actually elect a slate of Electors who then cast their votes for President and Vice-President. In 48 of the 50 States and in the District of Columbia, whichever candidate wins the most votes in that state receives ALL of that state's electoral votes. In order to be elected president, a candidate must receive one vote more than 50% of the total electoral votes cast. Since 1964, when Washington D.C. was allowed 3 votes, the electoral college has remained at 538, therefore 270 votes are needed. If no candidate has received a majority of electoral college votes, the election is thrown into the House of Representatives. House members choose among the top three vote receiving candidates. Each state may cast one vote. A majority of 26 (one more than 50%) is needed to elect a President.

Direct Popular Election Plan:

Whichever candidate receives a plurality (the most votes, but not necessarily 50%) of the total popular vote is elected President. As an alternative, a run-off election may be held between the top two candidates if no one receives more than 50% of the total vote cast.

Proportional Plan:

Each candidate receives the same share of a state's electoral vote as s/he received of that state's popular vote. Thus, if a candidate received 40% of the popular vote, s/he would also receive 40% of the state's electoral vote (rounded to the nearest 1/4 vote).

1-State, 1-Vote plan:

Each state casts 1 vote for the candidate winning the most popular votes in that state. The candidate with the most state votes wins. Alternatively, if no candidate receives more than 50% of the state votes, a run-off may be held between the top two voter getters.

District Plan:

Under this plan (currently used in Maine and Nebraska), a state's electoral vote is divided by congressional district. The candidate receiving the most popular votes in a given congressional district receives 1 electoral vote. Whichever candidate has the most total popular votes in an entire state would receive an additional 2 electoral votes (equal to the state's 2 electoral votes for Senators).

Election Analysis

(Use the questions below to guide your analysis of the election outcome.)

Electoral College System:

1. What was the total electoral vote count for each candidate?

2. What percentage of the electoral vote did each candidate receive?

3. Identify the 7 states with the most electoral votes. What percentage of the electoral vote do these states control? Which candidate won in each state?

4. Who received Iowa's electoral votes?

Direct Popular Election Plan:

1. What was the total popular vote for each major candidate?

2. What percentage of the total vote did each major candidate receive?

3. How do the popular vote percentages compare to the electoral vote percentages?

4. What was the total vote count (and vote percentage) from the 7 states identified above with the most electoral votes?

Proportional Plan:

1. Calculate the total vote for each candidate using the proportional method.

2. Compare these totals to the electoral college result.

1-State, 1-Vote Plan:

1. How many states did each candidate win based on popular vote?

2. How would Iowa have voted under this plan?

District Plan:

1. Calculate the vote under the District Plan proposal for Iowa.

2. How does this method compare to the others as far as the vote in Iowa is concerned?

3. Calculate the vote using the District plan for the entire U.S.

After examining each proposal, make a list of the positive and negative aspects of each plan. Make sure to consider the key values of *Justice* and *Equality* - Is each process *fair* to candidates and voters? Does each process provide an *equal opportunity* for all candidates? Decide among your group which plan you believe is the best way to elect a President. Be prepared to give reasons.

Election Analysis
Alternative Vote Proposals

Candidate	Electoral	Direct	Proportional	State	District (Iowa)	District (U.S)
Republican						
Democrat						
Major Independent						
Other						

205

Election Analysis
Alternative Vote Proposals

Proposal	Advantages (+)	Disadvantages (-)
Electoral		
Direct		
Proportional		
State		
District		

1992 Presidential Election Results

State (Elec.)	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Rep %	Dem %	Ind. %	Rep. CD	Dem CD	Ind. CD
Alabama (9)	804,283	690,080	183,109	47.6	40.9	10.8	6	1	0
Alaska (3)	102,000	78,294	73,481	39.5	30.3	28.4	1	0	0
Arizona (8)	572,086	543,050	353,741	38.5	36.5	23.8	4	2	0
Arkansas (6)	337,324	505,823	99,132	35.5	53.2	10.4	0	4	0
California (54)	3,630,574	5,121,325	2,296,006	32.6	46.0	20.6	16	36	0
Colorado (8)	562,850	629,681	366,010	35.9	40.1	23.3	3	3	0
Connecticut (8)	578,313	682,318	348,771	35.8	42.2	21.6	2	4	0
Delaware (3)	102,313	126,054	59,213	35.3	43.5	20.4	0	1	0
D.C. (3)	20,698	192,619	9,681	9.1	84.6	4.3	0	1	0
Florida (25)	2,173,310	2,072,698	1,053,067	40.9	39.0	19.8	13	10	0
Georgia (13)	995,252	1,008,966	309,657	42.9	43.5	13.3	8	3	0
Hawaii (4)	136,822	179,310	53,003	36.7	48.1	14.2	0	2	0
Idaho (4)	202,645	137,013	130,395	42.0	28.4	27.0	2	0	0
Illinois (22)	1,734,096	2,453,350	840,515	34.3	48.6	16.6	6	14	0
Indiana (12)	989,375	848,420	455,934	42.9	36.8	19.8	6	4	0
Iowa (7)	504,891	586,353	253,466	37.3	43.3	18.7	1	4	0
Kansas (6)	449,951	390,434	312,358	38.9	33.7	27.0	1	3	0
Kentucky (8)	617,178	665,104	203,944	41.3	44.6	13.7	3	3	0
Louisiana (9)	733,386	815,971	211,478	41.0	45.6	11.8	3	4	0
Maine (4)	206,504	263,420	206,820	30.4	38.8	30.4	0	2	0
Maryland (10)	707,094	988,571	281,414	35.6	49.8	14.2	3	5	0
Massachusetts (12)	805,049	1,318,662	630,731	29.0	47.5	22.7	0	10	0
Michigan (18)	1,554,940	1,871,182	824,813	36.4	43.8	19.3	4	12	0
Minnesota (10)	747,841	1,020,997	562,506	31.9	43.5	24.0	0	8	0
Mississippi (7)	487,793	400,258	85,626	49.7	40.8	8.7	4	1	0
Missouri (11)	811,159	1,053,873	518,741	33.9	44.1	21.7	3	6	0
Montana (3)	144,207	154,507	107,225	35.1	37.6	26.1	0	1	0
Nebraska (5)	343,678	216,864	174,104	43.6	29.4	23.6	3	0	0

1992 Presidential Election Results

State (Elec.)	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Rep %	Dem %	Ind. %	Rep. CD	Dem CD	Ind. CD
Nevada (4)	175,828	189,148	132,580	34.7	37.4	26.2	1	1	0
New Hampshire (4)	202,484	209,040	121,337	37.6	38.9	22.6	1	1	0
New Jersey (15)	1,356,865	1,436,206	521,829	40.6	43.0	15.6	5	8	0
New Mexico (5)	212,824	261,617	91,895	37.3	45.9	16.1	0	3	0
New York (33)	2,346,649	3,444,450	1,090,721	33.9	49.7	15.7	9	22	0
North Carolina (14	1,134,661	1,114,042	357,864	43.4	42.7	13.7	7	5	0
North Dakota (3)	136,244	99,168	71,084	44.2	32.2	23.1	1	0	0
Ohio (21)	1,894,310	1,984,942	1,036,426	38.3	40.2	21.0	9	10	0
Oklahoma (8)	592,929	473,066	319,878	42.6	34.0	23.0	4	2	0
Oregon (7)	475,757	621,314	354,091	32.5	42.5	24.2	1	4	0
Pennsylvania (23)	1,791,841	2,239,164	902,667	36.1	45.1	18.2	8	13	0
Rhode Island (4)	131,601	213,299	105,045	29.0	47.0	23.2	0	2	0
South Carolina (8)	577,507	479,514	138,872	48.0	39.9	11.5	5	1	0
South Dakota (3)	136,718	124,888	73,295	40.7	37.1	21.8	1	0	0
Tennessee (11)	841,300	933,521	199,968	42.4	47.1	10.1	4	5	0
Texas (32)	2,496,071	2,281,815	1,354,781	40.6	37.1	22.0	13	17	0
Utah (5)	322,632	183,429	203,400	43.4	24.7	27.3	3	0	0
Vermont (3)	88,122	133,592	65,991	30.4	46.1	22.8	0	1	0
Virginia (13)	1,150,517	1,038,650	348,639	45.0	40.6	13.6	8	3	0
Washington (11)	731,234	993,037	541,780	32.0	43.4	23.7	1	8	0
West Virginia (5)	241,974	331,001	108,829	35.4	48.4	15.9	0	3	0
Wisconsin (11)	930,855	1,041,066	544,479	36.8	41.1	21.5	3	6	0
Wyoming (3)	79,347	68,160	51,263	39.6	34.0	25.6	1	0	0

IOWA

PRESIDENT 1992

County	Republican	Democratic	Perot	Other	Plurality
ADAIR	1,713	1,655	814	12	58 R
ADAMS	863	1,034	679	20	171 D
ALLAMAKEE	2,627	2,362	1,543	147	265 R
APPANOOSE	2,346	2,810	1,161	56	464 D
AUDUBON	1,373	1,589	887	24	216 D
BENTON	3,469	4,467	2,454	49	998 D
BLACK HAWK	21,398	29,584	10,182	386	8,186 D
BOONE	4,148	5,913	2,070	88	1,765 D
BREMER	4,482	4,774	2,338	120	292 D
BUCHANAN	3,313	4,166	2,126	49	853 D
BUENA VISTA	3,863	3,374	1,955	55	489 R
BUTLER	3,209	2,548	1,333	47	661 R
CALHOUN	2,169	2,140	946	19	29 R
CARROLL	3,439	3,800	2,192	44	361 D
CASS	3,176	2,231	1,608	43	945 R
CEDAR	2,965	3,296	1,945	34	331 D
CERRO GORDO	8,250	11,415	4,498	130	3,165 D
CHEROKEE	2,768	2,590	1,503	32	178 R
CHICKASAW	2,129	2,913	1,566	32	784 D
CLARKE	1,417	1,921	899	23	504 D
CLAY	3,011	3,346	1,964	59	335 D
CLAYTON	3,044	3,742	2,309	95	698 D
CLINTON	8,746	11,683	4,414	117	2,937 D
CRAWFORD	2,693	3,004	1,905	70	311 D
DALLAS	5,587	6,554	2,665	55	967 D
DAVIS	1,344	1,962	718	17	618 D
TUR	1,316	1,866	786	18	550 D
WARE	3,195	3,093	2,144	60	102 R
MOINES	6,378	11,309	3,386	117	4,931 D
DICKINSON	3,196	3,106	1,974	28	90 R
DUBUQUE	14,007	20,539	8,208	214	6,532 D
EMMET	1,749	2,239	1,010	34	490 D
FAYETTE	3,879	4,412	2,493	77	533 D
FLOYD	2,404	3,688	1,611	47	1,284 D
FRANKLIN	2,137	2,049	1,045	35	88 R
FREMONT	1,459	1,422	1,003	27	37 R
GREENE	1,952	2,422	956	23	470 D
GRUNDY	3,160	1,895	1,069	32	1,265 R
GUTHRIE	1,962	2,234	1,216	41	272 D
HAMILTON	3,031	3,262	1,348	40	231 D
HANCOCK	2,428	2,175	1,170	33	253 R
HARDIN	3,590	3,792	1,547	50	202 D
HARRISON	2,763	2,349	1,691	65	414 R
HENRY	3,435	3,544	1,522	127	109 D
HOWARD	1,516	2,099	1,193	54	583 D
HUMBOLDT	2,299	1,765	1,093	28	534 R
IDA	1,714	1,449	1,061	15	265 R
IOWA	2,656	2,560	1,709	40	96 R
JACKSON	2,673	4,421	2,098	115	1,748 D
JASPER	6,866	8,120	2,972	54	1,254 D
JEFFERSON	2,541	2,562	1,241	1,997	21 D
JOHNSON	14,041	28,656	8,625	452	14,615 D
JONES	3,071	3,508	2,306	15	437 D
KEOKUK	1,981	2,329	1,238	29	348 D
KOSSUTH	3,464	3,660	1,906	29	196 D
LEE	4,777	9,366	2,920	89	4,589 D
LINN	30,215	38,567	19,643	460	8,352 D
LOUISA	1,691	2,091	1,044	18	400 D
CAS	1,734	2,072	848	20	338 D
N	3,272	1,331	1,068	55	1,941 R

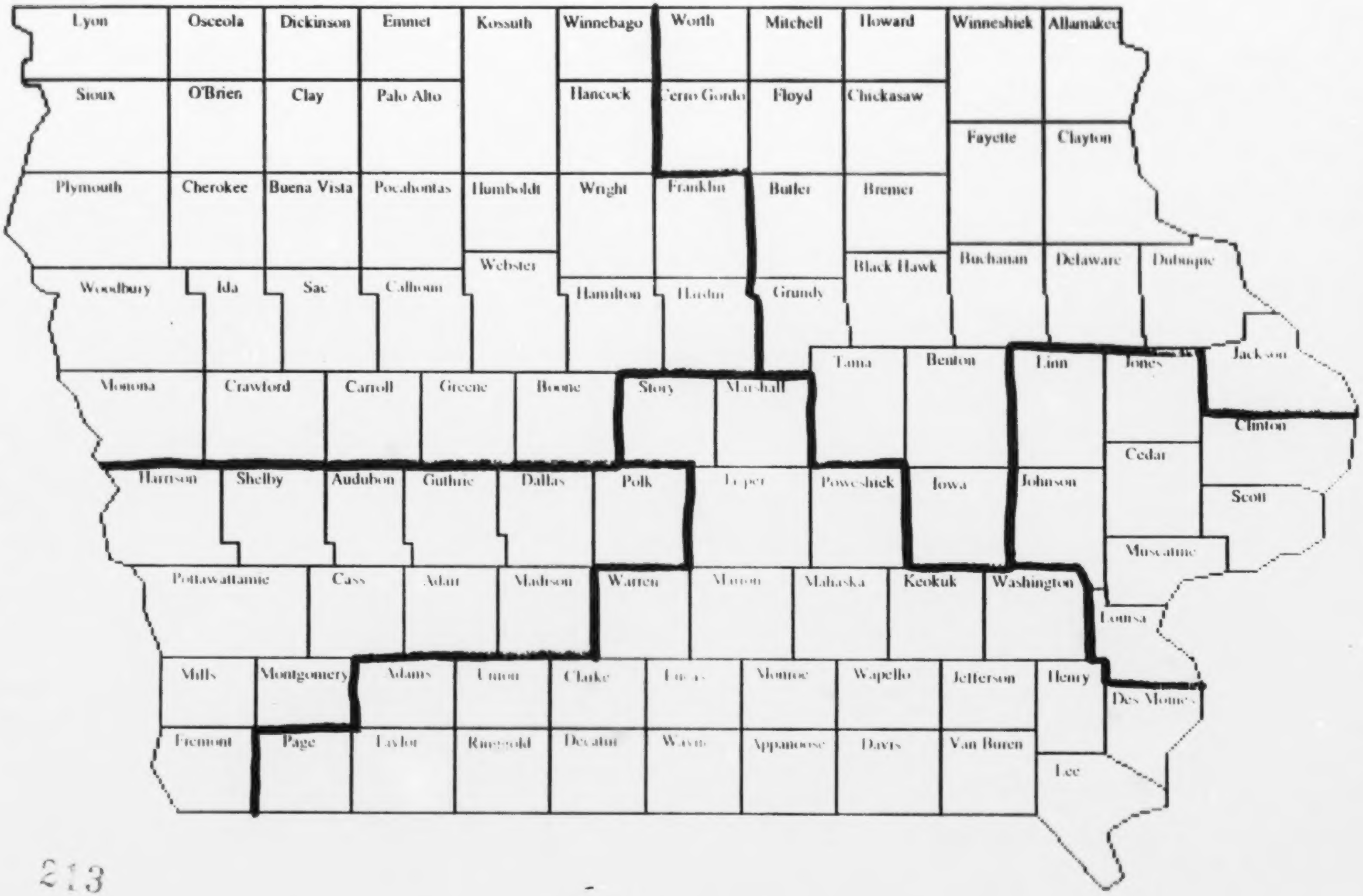
IOWA

PRESIDENT 1992

County	Republican	Democratic	Perot	Other	Plurality
MADISON	2,421	2,525	1,168	35	104
MAHASKA	4,953	3,714	1,508	72	1,239
MARION	6,362	5,531	1,896	44	831
MARSHALL	6,784	8,303	3,100	102	1,519
MILLS	2,699	1,798	1,638	31	901
MITCHELL	1,933	2,177	1,199	38	244
MONONA	1,660	1,939	1,231	19	279
MONROE	1,323	1,829	612	18	506
MONTGOMERY	2,404	1,599	1,341	25	805
MUSCATINE	5,087	7,089	3,583	105	2,002
O'BRIEN	3,869	2,122	1,557	30	1,747
OSCEOLA	1,756	990	813	41	766
PAGE	3,670	1,951	1,669	20	1,719
PALO ALTO	1,789	2,374	1,186	30	585
PLYMOUTH	5,196	3,171	2,039	78	2,025
POCAHONTAS	1,743	1,919	942	65	176
POLK	63,708	78,585	24,155	810	14,877
POTTAWATTAMIE	15,671	13,228	8,035	181	2,443
POWESHIEK	3,245	4,056	1,680	66	811
RINGGOLD	967	1,341	551	10	374
SAC	2,138	1,896	1,157	24	242
SCOTT	28,844	33,765	11,423	530	4,921
SHELBY	2,809	2,094	1,614	27	715
SIOUX	10,637	2,226	1,771	36	8,411
STORY	12,702	17,118	6,275	216	4,416
TAMA	2,948	3,573	1,748	61	625
TAYLOR	1,200	1,430	910	11	230
UNION	2,224	2,565	1,280	33	341
VAN BUREN	1,418	1,464	811	17	46
WAPELLO	4,852	8,670	2,513	48	3,818
WARREN	7,242	8,612	3,217	86	1,370
WASHINGTON	3,576	3,384	1,994	54	192
WAYNE	1,299	1,632	642	11	333
WEBSTER	6,992	8,562	3,272	95	1,570
WINNEBAGO	2,407	2,322	1,329	20	85
WINNESHIEK	3,331	3,791	2,416	86	460
WOODBURY	18,148	17,398	7,182	136	750
WORTH	1,382	2,009	1,044	13	627
WRIGHT	2,708	2,776	1,151	30	68
TOTAL	504,891	586,353	253,468	9,895	81,462

IOWA

(CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS - 1992)


Lyon
Osceola
Dickinson
Emmet
Kossuth
Winnebago
Worth
Mitchell
Howard
Winneshiek
Allamakee
Sioux
O'Brien
Clay
Palo Alto
Hancock
Cerro Gordo
Floyd
Chickasaw
Fayette
Clayton
Plymouth
Cherokee
Buena Vista
Pocahontas
Humboldt
Wright
Franklin
Butler
Bremer
Webster
Black Hawk
Buchanan
Delaware
Dubuque
Woodbury
Ida
Sac
Calhoun
Hamilton
Hardin
Grundy
Tama
Benton
Linn
Jones
Jackson
Monona
Crawford
Carroll
Greene
Boone
Story
Marshall
Clinton
Cedar
Harrison
Shelby
Audubon
Guthrie
Dallas
Polk
Jasper
Poweshiek
Iowa
Johnson
Scott
Muscatine
Pottawattamie
Cass
Adair
Madison
Warren
Marion
Mahaska
Keokuk
Washington
Louisa
Mills
Montgomery
Adams
Union
Clarke
Lucas
Monroe
Wapello
Jefferson
Henry
Des Moines
Fremont
Page
Taylor
Ringgold
Decatur
Wayne
Appanoose
Davis
Van Buren
Lee

213

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1988 Presidential Election Results

State (Elec.)	Rep.	Dem.	Rep. %	Dem. %	Rep. CD	Dem. CD
Alabama (9)	815,576	549,506	59.7	40.3	7	0
Alaska (3)	119,251	72,584	62.2	37.8	1	0
Arizona (7)	702,541	454,029	60.7	39.3	4	1
Arkansas (6)	466,578	349,237	57.2	42.8	4	0
California (47)	5,054,917	4,702,233	51.8	48.2	22	23
Colorado (8)	728,177	621,453	54.0	46.0	4	2
Connecticut (8)	750,241	676,584	52.6	47.4	5	1
Delaware (3)	139,639	108,647	56.2	43.8	1	0
D.C. (3)	27,590	159,407	14.8	85.2	0	1
Florida (21)	2,618,885	1,656,701	61.3	38.7	18	1
Georgia (12)	1,081,331	714,792	60.2	39.8	9	1
Hawaii (4)	158,625	192,364	45.2	54.8	0	2
Idaho (4)	253,881	147,272	63.3	36.7	2	0
Illinois (24)	2,310,939	2,215,940	51.0	49.0	15	7
Indiana (12)	1,297,763	860,643	60.1	39.9	8	2
Iowa (8)	545,355	670,557	44.9	55.1	1	5
Kansas (7)	554,049	422,636	56.7	43.3	5	0
Kentucky (9)	734,281	580,368	55.9	44.1	5	2
Louisiana (10)	883,702	717,460	55.2	44.8	6	2
Maine (4)	307,131	243,569	55.8	44.2	2	0
Maryland (10)	876,167	826,304	51.5	48.5	4	4
Massachusetts (13)	1,194,635	1,401,415	46.0	54.0	2	9
Michigan (20)	1,965,486	1,675,783	54.0	46.0	14	4
Minnesota (10)	962,337	1,109,471	46.4	53.6	4	4
Mississippi (7)	557,890	363,921	60.5	39.5	4	1
Missouri (11)	1,084,953	1,001,619	52.0	48.0	7	2
Montana (4)	190,412	168,936	53.0	47.0	2	0
Nebraska (5)	397,956	259.235	60.6	39.4	3	0

1988 Presidential Election Results

State (Elec.)	Rep.	Dem.	Rep. %	Dem. %	Rep. CD	Dem. CD
Nevada (4)	206,040	132,738	60.8	39.2	2	0
New Hampshire (4)	281,537	163,696	63.2	36.8	2	0
New Jersey (16)	1,743,192	1,320,352	56.9	43.1	12	2
New Mexico (5)	270,341	244,497	52.5	47.5	2	1
New York (36)	3,081,871	3,347,882	47.9	52.1	18	16
North Carolina (13)	1,237,258	890,167	58.2	41.8	10	1
North Dakota (3)	166,559	127,739	56.6	43.4	1	0
Ohio (23)	2,416,549	1,939,629	55.5	44.5	15	6
Oklahoma (8)	678,367	483,423	58.4	41.6	6	0
Oregon (7)	560,126	616,206	47.6	52.4	2	3
Pennsylvania (25)	2,300,087	2,194,944	51.2	48.8	15	8
Rhode Island (4)	177,761	225,123	44.1	55.9	0	2
South Carolina (8)	606,443	370,554	62.1	37.9	6	0
South Dakota (3)	165,415	145,560	53.2	46.8	1	0
Tennessee (11)	947,233	679,794	58.2	41.8	8	1
Texas (29)	3,036,829	2,352,748	56.3	43.7	16	11
Utah (5)	428,442	207,343	67.4	32.6	3	0
Vermont (3)	124,331	115,775	51.8	48.2	1	0
Virginia (12)	1,309,162	859,799	60.4	39.6	10	0
Washington (10)	903,835	933,516	49.2	50.8	3	5
West Virginia (6)	310,065	341,016	47.6	52.4	1	3
Wisconsin (11)	1,047,499	1,126,794	48.2	51.8	3	6
Wyoming (3)	106,867	67,113	61.4	38.6	1	0

IOWA

PRESIDENT 1988

County	Republican	Democratic	Other	Rep.-Dem. Plurality
ADAIR	1,833	2,261	29	428 D
ADAMS	1,080	1,283	17	203 D
ALLAMAKEE	3,186	2,768	41	418 R
APPANOOSE	2,779	3,209	100	430 D
AUDUBON	1,478	1,863	30	385 D
BENTON	4,011	5,873	93	1,862 D
BLACK HAWK	24,112	31,657	402	7,545 D
BOONE	4,381	7,232	73	2,851 D
BREMER	5,079	4,961	59	118 R
BUCHANAN	3,495	4,778	48	1,283 D
BUENA VISTA	4,170	4,580	75	410 D
BUTLER	3,523	2,593	30	930 R
CALHOUN	2,474	2,990	41	516 D
CARROLL	3,701	5,437	135	1,736 D
CASS	3,962	2,934	72	1,028 R
CEDAR	3,373	4,032	74	659 D
CERRO GORDO	9,358	12,857	150	3,499 D
CHEROKEE	3,218	3,574	63	356 D
CHICKASAW	2,549	3,530	57	981 D
CLARKE	1,631	2,262	41	631 D
CLAY	3,641	4,173	56	532 D
CLAYTON	3,839	4,320	43	481 D
CLINTON	10,243	12,549	210	2,306 D
CRAWFORD	3,375	3,868	58	493 D
DALLAS	4,858	7,501	60	2,643 D
DAVIS	1,563	2,246	40	683 D
DECATUR	1,406	2,192	29	786 D
ELAWARE	3,425	3,947	50	522 D
DES MOINES	7,652	11,593	129	3,941 D
DICKINSON	3,678	3,342	81	336 R
DUBUQUE	14,530	23,797	220	9,267 D
EMMET	2,173	2,778	26	605 D
FAYETTE	4,921	5,304	62	383 D
FLOYD	3,266	4,377	90	1,111 D
FRANKLIN	2,320	2,594	37	274 D
FREMONT	1,946	1,547	34	399 R
GREENE	2,091	3,011	52	920 D
GRUNDY	3,433	2,211	38	1,222 R
GUTHRIE	2,005	2,910	68	905 D
HAMILTON	3,277	4,156	61	879 D
HANCOCK	2,731	2,831	31	100 D
HARDIN	3,856	5,088	57	1,232 D
HARRISON	3,108	2,883	36	225 R
HENRY	3,951	3,754	53	197 R
HOWARD	1,970	2,330	25	360 D
HUMBOLDT	2,594	2,713	50	119 D
IDA	1,951	1,787	41	164 R
IOWA	3,247	3,338	100	91 D
JACKSON	3,237	4,864	132	1,627 D
JASPER	6,703	8,940	90	2,237 D
JEFFERSON	3,614	3,594	88	20 R
JOHNSON	15,453	28,759	435	13,306 D
JONES	3,496	4,641	48	1,145 D
KEOKUK	2,278	2,899	53	621 D
KOSSUTH	3,938	5,088	61	1,150 D
LEE	6,228	10,911	151	4,683 D
LINN	33,129	42,993	596	9,864 D
LOUISA	2,060	2,268	52	208 D
UCAS	1,776	2,454	13	678 D
YON	3,517	1,706	41	1,811 R

IOWA

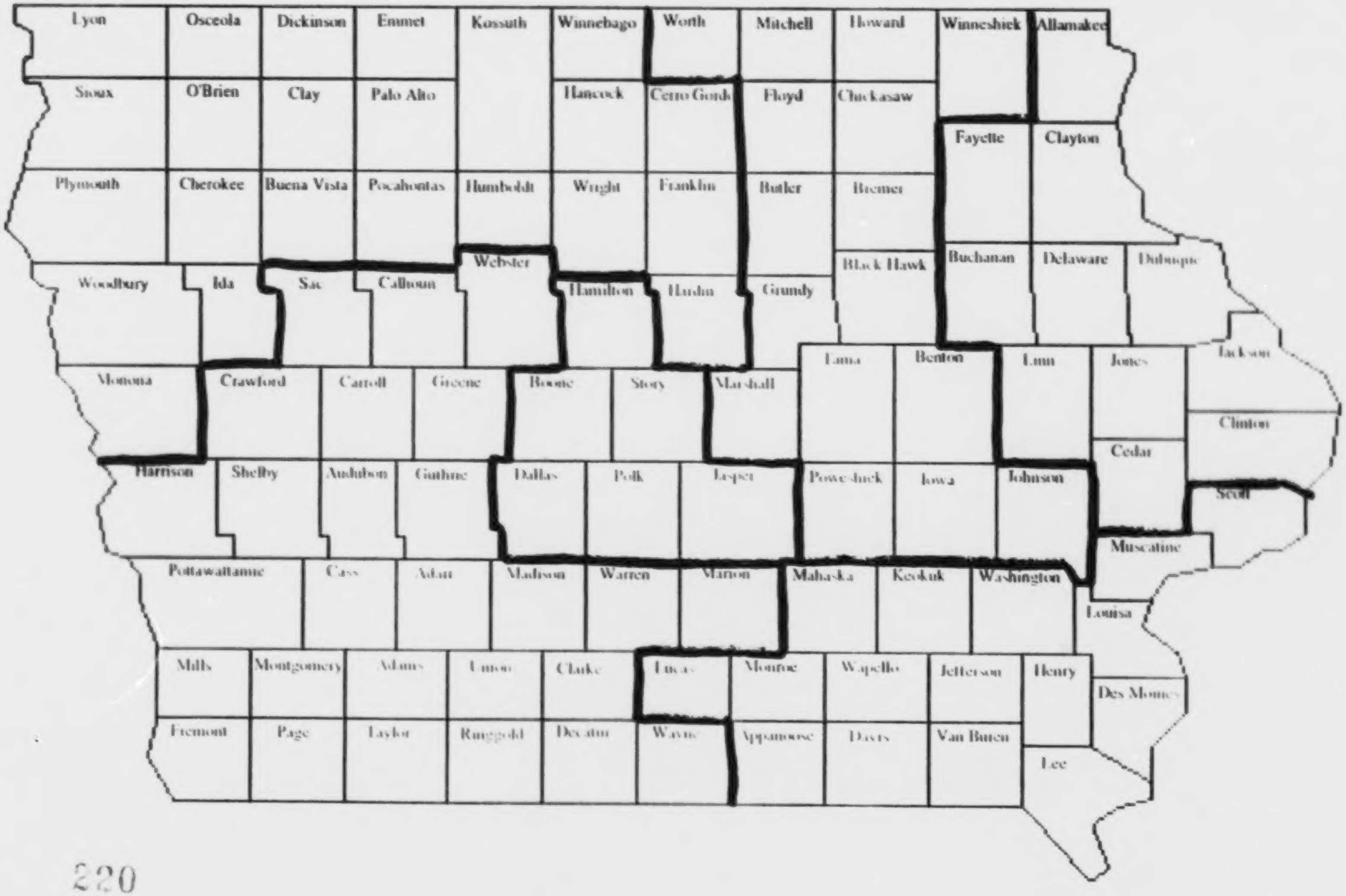
PRESIDENT 1988

County	Republican	Democratic	Other	Rep.-Dem. Plurality
MADISON	2,410	3,421	[illegible]	1,011 D
MAHASKA	4,798	4,451	[illegible]	347 R
MARION	5,914	6,922	118	1,008 D
MARSHALL	7,657	9,760	132	2,103 D
MILLS	3,212	2,092	55	1,120 R
MITCHELL	2,338	2,870	43	532 D
MONONA	2,068	2,408	15	340 D
MONROE	1,313	2,338	16	1,025 D
MONTGOMERY	3,166	1,898	36	1,268 R
MUSCATINE	6,904	7,059	139	155 D
O BRIEN	4,241	2,768	53	1,473 R
OSCEOLA	1,951	1,277	36	674 R
PAGE	4,583	2,185	35	2,398 R
PALO ALTO	2,041	3,377	45	1,336 D
PLYMOUTH	5,316	4,220	[illegible]	1,096 R
POCAHONTAS	1,871	2,722	59	851 D
POLK	57,854	84,476	814	26,622 D
POTTAWATTAMIE	17,193	14,958	254	2,235 R
POWESHIEK	3,683	4,876	56	1,193 D
RINGGOLD	1,110	1,609	12	499 D
SAC	2,411	2,613	53	202 D
SCOTT	31,325	34,415	595	3,090 D
SHELBY	3,019	2,806	35	213 R
SIOUX	10,270	2,923	95	7,347 R
STORY	13,782	19,051	272	5,269 D
TAMA	3,362	4,584	56	1,222 D
TAYLOR	1,647	1,671	14	24 D
UNION	2,751	3,236	54	485 D
VAN BUREN	1,692	1,612	30	80 R
WAPELLO	5,350	10,177	146	4,827 D
WARREN	6,424	9,627	90	3,203 D
WASHINGTON	3,741	3,776	39	35 D
WAYNE	1,467	1,988	22	521 D
WEBSTER	6,926	10,267	200	3,341 D
WINNEBAGO	2,963	2,904	36	59 R
WINNESHIEK	4,194	4,443	38	249 D
WOODBURY	18,790	20,153	282	1,363 D
WORTH	1,488	2,440	54	952 D
WRIGHT	2,658	3,353	43	695 D
TOTAL	545,355	670,557	9,702	125,202 D

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

IOWA

(CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS - 1988)


Lyon
Osceola
Dickinson
Emmet
Kossuth
Winnebago
Worth
Mitchell
Howard
Winneshiek
Allamakee
Sioux
O'Brien
Clay
Palo Alto
Hancock
Cerro Gordo
Floyd
Chickasaw
Fayette
Clayton
Plymouth
Cherokee
Buena Vista
Pocahontas
Humboldt
Wright
Franklin
Butler
Bremer
Webster
Black Hawk
Buchanan
Delaware
Dubuque
Woodbury
Ida
Sac
Calhoun
Hamilton
Hardin
Grundy
Tama
Benton
Linn
Jones
Jackson
Monona
Crawford
Carroll
Greene
Boone
Story
Marshall
Clinton
Cedar
Harrison
Shelby
Audubon
Guthrie
Dallas
Polk
Jasper
Poweshiek
Iowa
Johnson
Scott
Muscatine
Pottawattamie
Cass
Adair
Madison
Warren
Marion
Mahaska
Keokuk
Washington
Louisa
Mills
Montgomery
Adams
Union
Clarke
Lucas
Monroe
Wapello
Jefferson
Henry
Des Moines
Fremont
Page
Taylor
Ringgold
Decatur
Wayne
Appanoose
Davis
Van Buren
Lee

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1980 Presidential Election Results

State (Elec.)	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Rep %	Dem %	Ind. %	Rep. CD	Dem CD	Ind. CD
Alabama (9)	654,192	636,730	51,007	48.8	47.4	3.5	3	4	0
Alaska (3)	86,112	41,842	30,491	54.3	26.4	19.3	1	0	0
Arizona (6)	529,688	246,843	97,414	60.6	28.2	11.2	4	0	0
Arkansas (6)	403,164	398,041	36,377	48.1	47.5	4.4	1	3	0
California (45)	4,524,858	3,083,661	978,544	52.7	35.9	11.4	34	9	0
Colorado (7)	652,264	367,973	164,178	55.1	31.1	13.8	5	0	0
Connecticut (8)	677,210	541,732	187,343	48.2	38.5	13.3	5	1	0
Delaware (3)	111,252	105,754	18,894	47.2	44.8	8.0	1	0	0
D.C. (3)	23,545	131,113	20,579	13.4	74.8	11.8	0	1	0
Florida (17)	2,046,951	1,419,475	220,504	55.5	38.5	6.0	12	3	0
Georgia (12)	654,168	890,733	51,794	41.0	55.8	3.2	0	10	0
Hawaii (4)	130,112	135,879	37,296	42.9	44.8	12.3	1	1	0
Idaho (4)	290,699	110,192	36,540	66.5	25.2	8.3	2	0	0
Illinois (26)	2,358,049	1,981,413	410,259	49.6	41.7	8.7	16	8	0
Indiana (13)	1,255,656	844,197	142,180	56.0	37.7	6.3	10	1	0
Iowa (8)	676,026	508,672	132,963	51.3	38.6	10.1	6	0	0
Kansas (7)	566,812	326,150	86,833	57.9	33.3	8.8	5	0	0
Kentucky (9)	635,274	616,417	42,936	49.1	47.6	3.3	3	4	0
Louisiana (10)	792,853	708,453	47,285	51.2	45.7	3.1	6	2	0
Maine (4)	238,522	220,974	63,515	45.6	42.3	12.1	2	0	0
Maryland (10)	680,606	726,161	133,729	44.2	47.1	8.7	5	3	0
Massachusetts (14)	1,057,631	1,053,802	412,865	41.9	41.7	16.4	5	7	0
Michigan (21)	1,915,225	1,661,532	332,968	49.0	42.5	8.5	14	5	0
Minnesota (10)	873,268	954,174	224,538	42.6	46.5	10.9	5	3	0
Mississippi (7)	441,089	429,281	22,250	49.4	48.1	2.5	3	2	0
Missouri (12)	1,074,181	931,182	94,461	51.2	44.3	4.5	8	2	0
Montana (4)	206,814	118,032	39,106	56.8	32.4	10.8	2	0	0
Nebraska (5)	419,937	166,851	54,066	65.5	26.0	8.5	3	0	0

1980 Presidential Election Results

State (Elec.)	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Rep %	Dem %	Ind. %	Rep. CD	Dem CD	Ind. CD
Nevada (3)	155,017	66,666	26,202	62.5	26.9	10.6	1	0	0
New Hampshire (4)	221,705	108,864	53,421	57.7	28.4	13.9	2	0	0
New Jersey (17)	1,546,557	1,147,364	281,763	52.0	38.6	9.4	13	2	0
New Mexico (4)	250,779	167,826	38,366	54.9	36.7	8.4	2	0	0
New York (41)	2,893,831	2,728,372	579,756	46.7	44.0	9.3	24	15	0
North Carolina (13)	915,018	875,635	65,180	49.3	47.2	3.5	7	4	0
North Dakota (3)	193,695	79,189	28,661	64.2	26.3	9.5	1	0	0
Ohio (25)	2,206,545	1,752,414	324,644	51.5	40.9	7.6	17	6	0
Oklahoma (8)	695,570	402,026	52,112	60.5	35.0	4.5	5	1	0
Oregon (6)	571,044	456,890	153,582	48.3	38.7	13.0	3	1	0
Pennsylvania (27)	2,261,872	1,937,540	362,089	49.6	42.5	7.9	17	8	0
Rhode Island (4)	154,793	198,342	62,937	37.2	47.7	15.1	0	2	0
South Carolina (8)	441,841	430,385	21,845	49.4	48.1	2.5	3	3	0
South Dakota (4)	198,343	103,855	25,505	60.5	31.7	7.8	2	0	0
Tennessee (10)	787,761	783,051	46,804	48.7	48.4	2.9	5	3	0
Texas (26)	2,510,705	1,881,147	149,784	55.3	41.4	3.3	17	7	0
Utah (4)	439,687	124,266	40,269	72.8	20.6	6.6	2	0	0
Vermont (3)	94,628	81,952	36,719	44.4	38.4	17.2	1	0	0
Virginia (12)	989,609	752,174	124,249	53.0	40.3	6.7	9	1	0
Washington (9)	865,244	650,193	226,957	49.7	37.3	13.0	7	0	0
West Virginia (6)	334,206	367,462	36,047	45.3	49.8	4.9	0	4	0
Wisconsin (11)	1,088,845	981,584	202,792	47.9	43.2	8.9	5	4	0
Wyoming (3)	110,700	49,427	16,586	62.6	28.0	9.4	1	0	0

IOWA

PRESIDENT 1980

County	Republican	Democratic	Other	Rep.-Dem Plurality
ADAIR	2.821	1.454	414	1.367 R
ADAMS	[illegible]	940	255	339 R
ALLAMAKEE	4.000	2.170	416	1.830 R
APPANOOSE	3.544	2.769	415	775 R
AUDUBON	2.523	1.546	284	977 R
BENTON	5.329	4.223	1.083	1.106 R
BLACK HAWK	29.627	27.443	6.652	2.184 R
BOONE	5.732	5.126	1.229	606 R
BREMER	6.706	3.527	1.085	3.179 R
BUCHANAN	5.041	3.605	776	1.436 R
BUENA VISTA	5.272	3.468	936	1.804 R
BUTLER	4.730	1.990	457	2.740 R
CALHOUN	3.633	2.150	545	1.483 R
CARROLL	5.017	3.885	835	1.132 R
CASS	5.391	2.176	559	3.215 R
CEDAR	4.398	2.589	910	1.809 R
CERRO GORDO	11.189	9.363	2.276	1.826 R
CHEROKEE	4.087	2.719	694	1.368 R
CHICKASAW	3.929	2.935	569	994 R
CLARKE	2.417	1.614	373	803 R
CLAY	4.479	3.179	1.106	1.300 R
CLAYTON	5.115	3.297	794	1.818 R
CLINTON	13.025	9.698	2.488	3.327 R
CRAWFORD	4.883	2.500	619	2.383 R
DALLAS	5.696	5.310	1.358	386 R
DAVIS	2.003	1.689	238	314 R
DECATUR	2.212	2.048	380	164 R
DELAWARE	4.316	2.671	907	1.645 R
DES MOINES	9.158	9.977	1.282	819 D
DICKINSON	4.028	2.620	794	1.408 R
DUBUQUE	18.649	18.689	4.201	40 D
EMMET	3.062	2.153	509	909 R
FAYETTE	6.374	4.377	772	1.997 R
FLOYD	4.665	3.634	819	1.031 R
FRANKLIN	3.290	1.920	472	1.370 R
FREMONT	2.693	1.203	235	1.490 R
GREENE	3.154	2.210	575	944 R
GRUNDY	4.644	1.869	513	2.775 R
GUTHRIE	3.214	1.866	434	1.348 R
HAMILTON	4.745	2.741	780	2.004 R
HANCOCK	3.681	1.918	493	1.763 R
HARDIN	5.329	3.757	834	1.572 R
HARRISON	4.502	2.152	399	2.350 R
HENRY	4.430	3.317	715	1.113 R
HOWARD	2.975	2.214	387	761 R
HUMBOLDT	3.575	1.840	484	1.735 R
IDA	2.825	1.235	294	1.590 R
IOWA	4.153	2.606	763	1.547 R
JACKSON	4.479	3.518	757	961 R
JASPER	8.286	7.258	1.422	1.028 R
JEFFERSON	4.099	2.577	623	1.522 R
JOHNSON	13.642	20.122	9.233	6.480 D
JONES	4.506	3.521	886	985 R
KEOKUK	3.145	2.390	440	755 R
KOSSUTH	5.568	3.810	884	1.758 R
LEE	8.793	8.204	1.268	589 R
LINN	36.254	31.950	10.020	4.304 R
LOUISA	2.530	1.700	354	830 R
LUCAS	2.593	1.989	347	604 R
LYON	4.349	1.431	428	2.918 R
MADISON	3.320	2.496	595	824 R
MAHASKA	5.650	3.968	745	1.682 R
MARION	6.665	5.490	1.363	1.175 R
MARSHALL	10.707	7.114	1.805	3.593 R
MILLS	3.581	1.244	358	2.337 R
MITCHELL	3.401	2.040	423	1.361 R
MONONA	3.268	1.660	356	1.608 R
MONROE	2.003	1.866	248	137 R
MONTGOMERY	4.115	1.556	383	2.559 R
MUSCATINE	7.829	5.597	1,719	2.232 R

IOWA

PRESIDENT 1980

County	Republican	Democratic	Other	Rep.-Dem Plurality
O BRIEN	[illegible]	[illegible]	614	[illegible] R
OSCEOLA	[illegible]	[illegible]	258	1.126 R
PAGE	3.818	[illegible]	420	[illegible] R
PALO ALTO	3.025	2.463	480	562 R
PLYMOUTH	6.515	2.965	366	3.550 R
POCAHONTAS	3.194	1.959	533	1.235 R
POLK	64.156	61.984	17.618	2.172 R
POTTAWATTAMIE	20.222	10.709	2.239	9.513 R
POWESHIEK	4.598	3.529	975	1.069 R
RINGGOLD	1.884	1.150	217	734 R
SAC	3.725	1.976	563	1.749 R
SCOTT	34.701	26.391	6.834	8.310 R
SHELBY	4.147	1.892	438	2.255 R
SIOUX	10.768	2.698	701	8.070 R
STORY	15.829	13.529	8.013	2.300 R
TAMA	4.840	3.049	713	1.791 R
TAYLOR	2.715	1.226	272	1.489 R
UNION	3.372	2.182	425	1.190 R
VAN BUREN	2.142	1.311	227	831 R
WAPELLO	7.475	8.923	1.270	1.448 D
WARREN	7.360	6.610	1.549	750 R
WASHINGTON	3.967	2.877	783	1.090 R
WAYNE	2.221	1.627	256	594 R
WEBSTER	10.438	9.001	1.591	1.437 R
WINNEBAGO	3.808	2.208	463	1.600 R
WINNESHIEK	5.033	3.201	1.070	1.832 R
WOODBURY	23.553	15.930	3.792	7.623 R
WORTH	2.247	1.721	342	526 R
WRIGHT	3.936	2.645	566	1.291 R
TOTAL	676.026	508.672	132.963	167.354 R

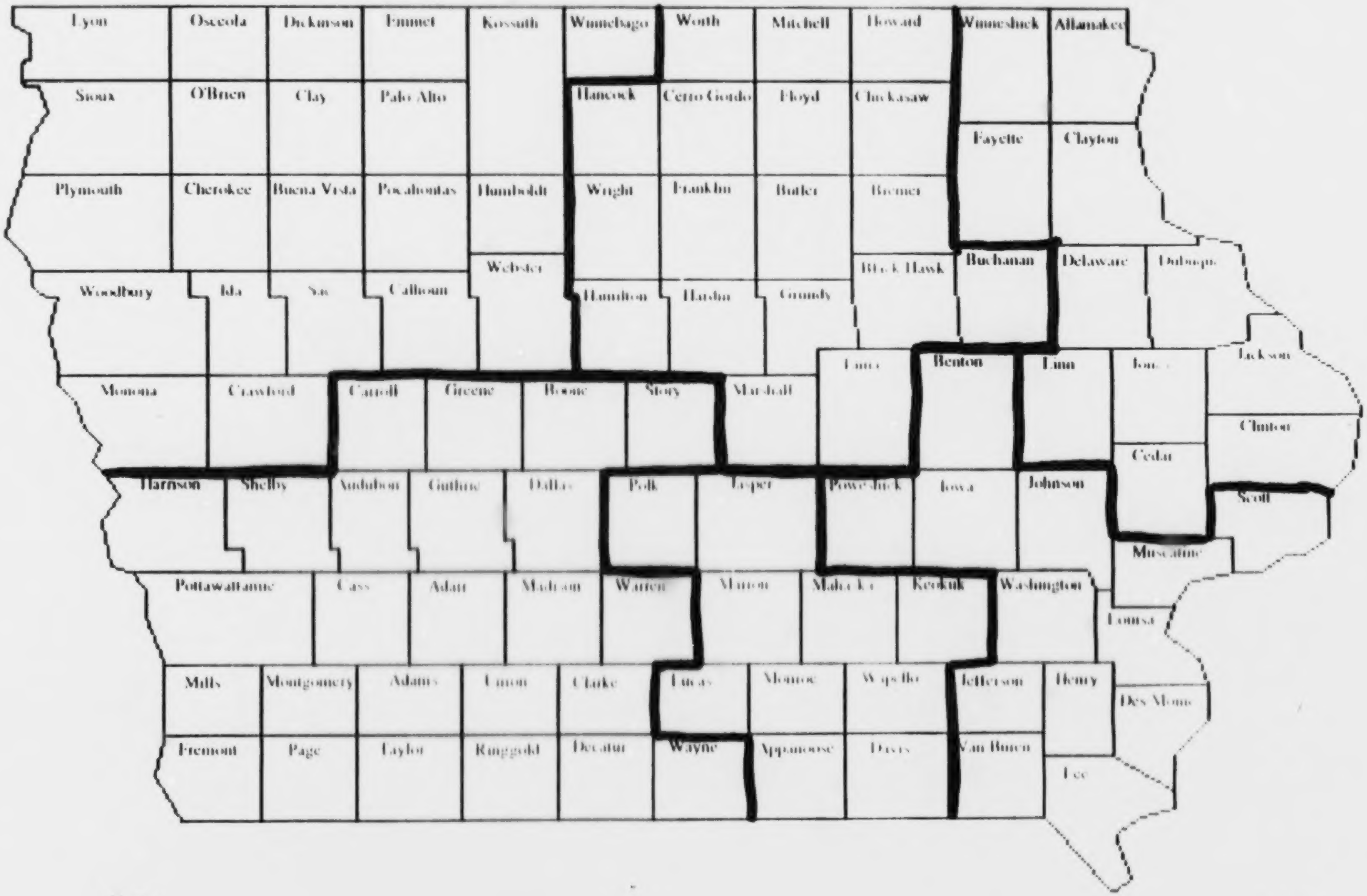
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

226

Iowa Center for Law & Civic Education

IOWA

(CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS - 1980)


Lyon
Osceola
Dickinson
Emmet
Kossuth
Winnebago
Worth
Mitchell
Howard
Winneshiek
Allamakee
Sioux
O'Brien
Clay
Palo Alto
Hancock
Cerro Gordo
Floyd
Chickasaw
Fayette
Clayton
Plymouth
Cherokee
Buena Vista
Pocahontas
Humboldt
Wright
Franklin
Butler
Bremer
Webster
Black Hawk
Buchanan
Delaware
Dubuque
Woodbury
Ida
Sac
Calhoun
Hamilton
Hardin
Grundy
Jackson
Tama
Benton
Linn
Jones
Monona
Crawford
Carroll
Greene
Boone
Story
Marshall
Clinton
Cedar
Harrison
Shelby
Audubon
Guthrie
Dallas
Polk
Jasper
Poweshiek
Iowa
Johnson
Scott
Muscatine
Pottawattamie
Cass
Adair
Madison
Warren
Marion
Mahaska
Keokuk
Washington
Louisa
Mills
Montgomery
Adams
Union
Clarke
Lucas
Monroe
Wapello
Jefferson
Henry
Des Moines
Fremont
Page
Taylor
Ringgold
Decatur
Wayne
Appanoose
Davis
Van Buren
Lee

VI B - 24

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1976 Presidential Election Results

State (Elec.)	Rep.	Dem.	Rep %	Dem %	Rep. CD	Dem CD
Alabama (9)	504,070	659,170	42.6	55.7	2	5
Alaska (3)	71,555	44,058	57.9	35.7	1	0
Arizona (6)	418,642	295,602	56.4	39.8	4	0
Arkansas (6)	267,903	498,604	34.9	65.0	0	4
California (45)	3,882,244	3,742,284	49.3	47.6	21	22
Colorado (7)	584,278	460,801	54.0	42.6	4	1
Connecticut (8)	719,261	647,895	52.1	46.9	4	2
Delaware (3)	109,831	122,596	46.7	52.0	0	1
D.C. (3)	27,873	137,818	16.5	81.6	0	1
Florida (17)	1,469,531	1,636,000	46.6	51.9	7	8
Georgia (12)	483,743	979,409	33.0	66.7	0	10
Hawaii (4)	140,003	147,375	48.1	50.6	1	1
Idaho (4)	204,151	126,549	59.3	36.8	2	0
Illinois (26)	2,364,269	2,271,295	50.1	48.1	15	9
Indiana (13)	1,183,958	1,014,714	53.3	45.7	8	3
Iowa (8)	632,863	619,931	49.5	48.5	5	1
Kansas (7)	502,752	430,421	52.5	44.9	5	0
Kentucky (9)	531,852	615,717	45.6	52.8	2	5
Louisiana (10)	587,446	661,365	46.0	51.7	3	5
Maine (4)	236,320	232,279	48.9	48.1	2	0
Maryland (10)	672,661	759,612	46.7	52.8	3	5
Massachusetts (14)	1,030,276	1,429,475	40.4	56.1	0	12
Michigan (21)	1,893,742	1,696,714	51.8	46.4	13	6
Minnesota (10)	819,395	1,070,440	42.0	54.9	1	7
Mississippi (7)	366,846	381,309	47.7	49.6	3	2
Missouri (12)	927,443	998,387	47.5	51.1	5	5
Montana (4)	173,703	149,259	52.8	45.4	2	0
Nebraska (5)	359,705	233,692	59.2	38.5	3	0

1976 Presidential Election Results

State (Elec.)	Rep.	Dem.	Rep %	Dem %	Rep. CD	Dem CD
Nevada (3)	101,273	92,479	50.2	45.8	1	0
New Hampshire (4)	185,935	147,635	54.7	43.5	2	0
New Jersey (17)	1,509,688	1,444,653	50.1	47.9	9	6
New Mexico (4)	211,419	201,148	50.5	48.1	2	0
New York (41)	3,100,791	3,389,558	47.5	51.9	23	16
North Carolina (13)	741,960	927,365	44.2	55.2	0	11
North Dakota (3)	153,470	136,078	51.6	45.8	1	0
Ohio (25)	2,000,505	2,011,621	48.7	48.9	13	10
Oklahoma (8)	545,708	532,442	50.0	48.7	3	3
Oregon (6)	492,120	490,407	47.8	47.6	2	2
Pennsylvania (27)	2,205,604	2,328,677	47.7	50.4	11	14
Rhode Island (4)	181,249	227,636	44.1	55.4	0	2
South Carolina (8)	346,149	450,807	43.1	56.2	0	6
South Dakota (4)	151,505	147,068	50.4	48.9	1	1
Tennessee (10)	633,969	825,879	42.9	55.9	2	6
Texas (26)	1,953,300	2,082,319	48.0	51.1	6	18
Utah (4)	337,908	182,110	62.4	33.6	2	0
Vermont (3)	100,387	78,789	54.6	42.8	1	0
Virginia (12)	836,554	813,896	49.3	48.0	6	4
Washington (9)	777,732	717,323	50.0	46.1	4	3
West Virginia (6)	314,760	435,914	41.9	58.0	0	4
Wisconsin (11)	1,004,987	1,040,232	47.8	49.4	4	5
Wyoming (3)	92,717	62,239	59.3	39.8	1	0

IOWA

PRESIDENT 1976

County	Republican	Democratic	Other	Rep Dem Plurality
ADAIR	2,326	2,294	102	32 R
ADAMS	1,388	1,507	42	119 D
ALLAMAKEE	3,648	2,568	97	1,080 R
APPANOOSE	3,036	3,424	98	388 D
AUDUBON	1,978	2,104	51	126 D
BENTON	5,014	5,514	175	500 D
BLACK HAWK	30,994	29,508	1,213	1,486 R
BOONE	5,413	6,595	255	1,182 D
BREMER	6,252	4,203	230	2,049 R
BUCHANAN	4,794	4,258	171	536 R
BUENA VISTA	5,126	4,227	214	899 R
BUTLER	4,207	2,503	98	1,704 R
CALHOUN	3,215	3,001	84	214 R
CARROLL	4,094	5,333	181	1,239 D
CASS	4,589	2,866	94	1,723 R
CEDAR	4,308	3,354	160	954 R
CERRO GORDO	10,604	11,189	403	585 D
CHEROKEE	3,993	3,358	127	635 R
CHICKASAW	3,432	3,503	53	71 D
CLARKE	1,737	2,333	79	596 D
CLAY	4,548	3,776	176	772 R
CLAYTON	4,926	3,804	177	1,122 R
CLINTON	12,401	11,746	387	655 R
CRAWFORD	3,879	3,903	166	24 D
DALLAS	5,308	6,722	217	1,414 D
DAVIS	1,631	2,426	72	795 D
DECATUR	1,932	2,698	77	766 D
DELAWARE	4,161	3,168	152	993 R
DES MOINES	9,023	11,268	245	2,245 D
DICKINSON	3,795	3,074	141	721 R
UBUQUE	17,459	20,548	1,042	3,089 D
EMMET	2,872	2,720	95	152 R
FAYETTE	6,618	5,220	264	1,398 R
FLOYD	4,361	4,646	171	285 D
FRANKLIN	3,056	2,682	105	374 R
FREMONT	2,163	1,964	49	199 R
GREENE	2,811	3,094	84	283 D
GRUNDY	4,173	2,410	77	1,763 R
GUTHRIE	2,644	2,873	124	229 D
HAMILTON	3,932	3,953	140	21 D
HANCOCK	3,127	2,975	85	152 R
HARDIN	4,682	4,479	167	203 R
HARRISON	3,489	3,228	73	261 R
HENRY	3,848	3,882	157	34 D
HOWARD	2,618	2,917	81	299 D
HUMBOLDT	3,075	2,677	89	398 R
IDA	2,590	1,868	97	722 R
IOWA	3,926	3,367	118	559 R
JACKSON	4,221	4,467	198	246 D
JASPER	7,728	8,783	275	1,055 D
JEFFERSON	3,746	3,377	121	369 R
JOHNSON	16,090	20,208	2,412	4,118 D
JONES	4,463	4,245	123	218 R
KEOKUK	2,920	3,482	102	562 D
KOSSUTH	4,653	5,190	203	537 D
LEE	8,195	9,017	253	822 D
LINN	36,513	38,252	1,632	1,739 D
LOUISA	2,284	2,089	68	195 R
LUCAS	2,071	2,733	90	662 D
LYON	3,558	1,870	128	1,688 R
MADISON	2,681	3,109	120	428 D
MAHASKA	5,267	4,838	146	429 R
MARION	5,429	6,226	202	797 D
MARSHALL	9,562	8,695	373	867 R
MILLS	2,722	1,908	80	814 R

IOWA

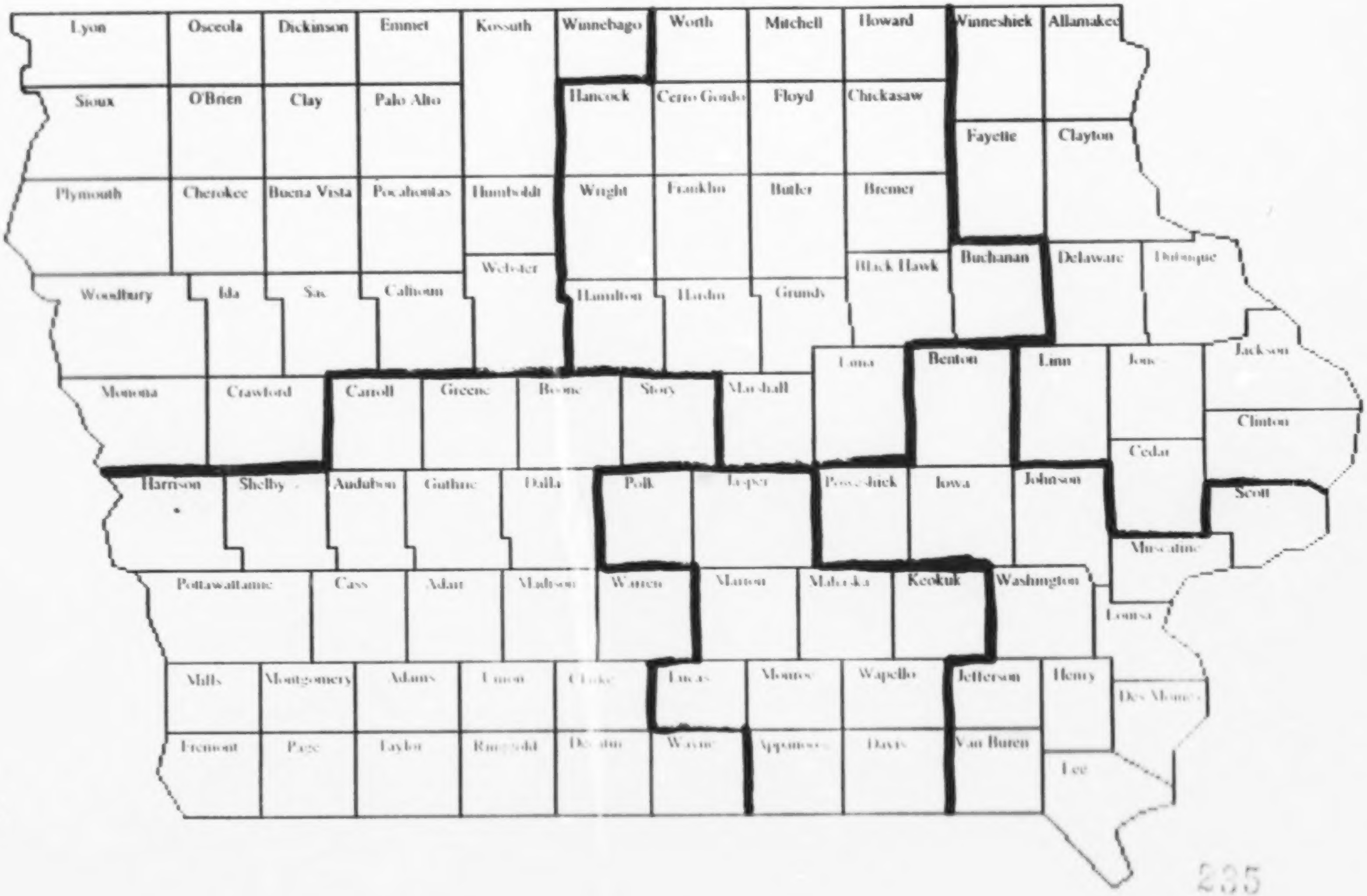
PRESIDENT 1976

County	Republican	Democratic	Other	Rep. Dem. Plurality
MITCHELL	2,887	2,906	99	19 D
MONONA	2,636	2,661	73	25 D
MONROE	1,581	2,360	55	779 D
MONTGOMERY	3,673	2,229	72	1,444 R
MUSCATINE	7,697	6,567	232	1,130 R
O BRIEN	4,643	2,732	131	1,911 R
OSCEOLA	1,955	1,309	77	646 R
PAGE	5,343	2,865	127	2,478 R
PALO ALTO	2,623	3,182	99	559 D
PLYMOUTH	5,590	4,284	142	1,306 R
POCAHONTAS	2,700	3,055	134	355 D
POLK	62,316	71,917	3,530	9,601 D
POTTAWATTAMIE	17,264	14,754	501	2,510 R
POWESHIEK	4,194	4,360	181	166 D
RINGGOLD	1,543	1,729	54	186 D
SAC	3,347	2,996	150	351 R
SCOTT	35,021	29,771	1,148	5,250 R
SHELBY	3,331	2,881	109	450 R
SIOUX	7,449	[illegible]	165	[illegible] R
STORY	18,394	15,717	265	2,677 R
TAMA	4,379	4,580	148	201 D
TAYLOR	2,059	1,947	48	112 R
UNION	2,273	2,365	120	92 D
VAN BUREN	1,804	1,807	40	3 D
WAPELLO	8,786	10,249	233	1,463 D
WARREN	6,099	7,653	356	1,554 D
WASHINGTON	4,218	3,448	141	770 R
WAYNE	1,781	2,145	59	364 D
WEBSTER	9,068	10,543	384	1,475 D
WINNEBAGO	3,315	2,950	81	365 R
WINNESHIEK	4,765	4,158	226	607 R
WOODBURY	22,853	19,664	770	3,189 R
WORTH	1,964	2,399	62	435 D
WRIGHT	3,544	3,637	101	93 D
TOTAL	632,863	619,931	26,512	12,932 R

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

IOWA

(CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS - 1976)


Lyon
Osceola
Dickinson
Emmet
Kossuth
Winnebago
Worth
Mitchell
Howard
Winneshiek
Allamakee
Sioux
O'Brien
Clay
Palo Alto
Hancock
Cerro Gordo
Floyd
Chickasaw
Fayette
Clayton
Plymouth
Cherokee
Buena Vista
Pocahontas
Humboldt
Wright
Franklin
Butler
Bremer
Webster
Black Hawk
Buchanan
Delaware
Dubuque
Woodbury
Ida
Sac
Calhoun
Hamilton
Hardin
Grundy
Tama
Benton
Linn
Jones
Jackson
Monona
Crawford
Carroll
Greene
Boone
Story
Marshall
Clinton
Cedar
Harrison
Shelby
Audubon
Guthrie
Dallas
Polk
Jasper
Poweshiek
Iowa
Johnson
Scott
Muscatine
Pottawattamie
Cass
Adair
Madison
Warren
Marion
Mahaska
Keokuk
Washington
Louisa
Mills
Montgomery
Adams
Union
Clarke
Lucas
Monroe
Wapello
Jefferson
Henry
Des Moines
Fremont
Page
Taylor
Ringgold
Decatur
Wayne
Appanoose
Davis
Van Buren
Lee

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1968 Presidential Election Results

State (Elec.)	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Rep %	Dem %	Ind. %	Rep. CD	Dem CD	Ind. CD
Alabama (10)	146,591	195,918	687,664	14.0	18.8	65.8	0	0	8
Alaska (3)	37,600	35,411	10,024	45.3	42.7	12.1	1	0	0
Arizona (5)	266,721	170,514	46,573	54.8	35.0	9.6	3	0	0
Arkansas (6)	190,759	188,228	240,982	30.8	30.4	38.9	1	0	3
California (40)	3,467,664	3,224,318	487,270	47.8	44.7	6.7	21	17	0
Colorado (6)	409,345	335,174	60,813	50.5	41.3	7.5	3	1	0
Connecticut (8)	556,721	621,561	76,650	44.3	49.5	6.1	1	5	0
Delaware (3)	96,714	89,194	28,459	45.1	41.6	13.3	1	0	0
D.C. (3)	31,012	139,566		18.2	81.8		0	1	0
Florida (14)	886,804	676,794	624,207	40.5	30.9	28.5	8	1	3
Georgia (12)	380,111	334,440	535,550	30.4	26.8	42.8	1	1	8
Hawaii (4)	91,425	141,324	3,469	38.7	59.8	1.5	0	2	0
Idaho (4)	165,369	89,273	36,541	56.8	30.7	12.6	2	0	0
Illinois (26)	2,174,774	2,039,814	390,958	47.1	44.2	8.5	15	9	0
Indiana (13)	1,067,885	806,659	243,108	50.3	38.0	11.5	9	2	0
Iowa (9)	619,106	476,699	66,422	53.0	40.8	5.7	7	0	0
Kansas (7)	478,674	302,996	88,921	54.8	34.7	10.2	5	0	0
Kentucky (9)	462,411	397,541	193,098	43.8	37.7	18.3	4	3	0
Louisiana (10)	257,535	309,615	530,300	23.5	28.2	48.3	0	0	8
Maine (4)	169,254	217,312	6,370	43.1	55.3	1.6	0	2	0
Maryland (10)	517,995	538,310	178,734	41.9	43.6	14.5	4	4	0
Massachusetts (14)	766,844	1,469,218	87,088	32.9	63.0	3.7	0	12	0
Michigan (21)	1,370,665	1,593,082	331,968	41.5	48.2	10.0	9	10	0
Minnesota (10)	658,643	857,738	69,931	41.5	54.0	4.3	1	7	0
Mississippi (7)	88,516	150,644	415,349	13.5	23.0	63.5	0	0	5
Missouri (12)	811,932	791,444	206,126	44.9	43.7	11.4	7	3	0
Montana (4)	138,835	114,117	20,015	50.6	41.6	7.3	2	0	0
Nebraska (5)	321,163	170,784	44,904	59.8	31.8	8.4	3	0	0

1968 Presidential Election Results

State (Elec.)	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Rep %	Dem %	Ind. %	Rep. CD	Dem CD	Ind. CD
Nevada (3)	73,188	60,598	20,432	47.5	39.3	13.3	1	0	0
New Hampshire (4)	154,903	130,589	11,173	52.1	43.9	3.8	2	0	0
New Jersey (17)	1,325,467	1,264,206	262,187	46.1	44.0	9.1	8	7	0
New Mexico (4)	169,692	130,081	25,737	51.9	39.8	7.9	2	0	0
New York (43)	3,007,932	3,378,470	358,864	44.3	49.8	5.3	20	21	0
North Carolina (13)	627,192	464,113	496,188	39.5	29.2	31.3	7	0	4
North Dakota (4)	138,669	94,769	14,244	55.9	38.2	5.8	2	0	0
Ohio (26)	1,791,014	1,700,586	467,495	45.2	43.0	11.8	15	9	0
Oklahoma (8)	449,697	301,658	191,731	47.7	32.0	20.3	5	1	0
Oregon (6)	408,433	358,866	49,683	49.8	43.8	6.1	3	1	0
Pennsylvania (29)	2,090,017	2,259,403	378,582	44.0	47.6	8.0	13	14	0
Rhode Island (4)	122,359	246,518	15,678	31.8	64.0	4.1	0	2	0
South Carolina (8)	254,062	197,486	215,430	38.1	29.6	32.3	3	1	2
South Dakota (4)	149,841	118,023	13,400	53.3	42.0	4.8	2	0	0
Tennessee (11)	472,592	351,233	424,792	37.9	28.1	34.0	5	0	4
Texas (25)	1,227,844	1,266,804	584,269	39.9	41.1	19.0	9	13	1
Utah (4)	238,728	156,665	29,906	56.5	37.1	6.4	2	0	0
Vermont (3)	85,142	70,255	5,104	52.8	43.5	3.2	1	0	0
Virginia (12)	590,319	442,387	320,272	43.4	32.5	23.6	7	1	2
Washington (9)	588,510	616,037	96,990	45.2	47.3	7.4	3	4	0
West Virginia (7)	307,555	374,091	72,560	40.8	49.6	9.6	1	4	0
Wisconsin (12)	809,997	748,804	127,835	47.9	44.3	7.6	6	4	0
Wyoming (3)	70,927	45,173	11,105	55.8	35.5	8.7	1	0	0

IOWA

PRESIDENT 1968

County	Republican	Democratic	AIP	Other	Plurality
ADAIR	2,789	1,559	234	4	1,230 R
ADAMS	1,868	993	260	7	875 R
ALLAMAKEE	4,449	2,245	407	9	2,204 R
APPANOOSE	3,497	3,005	540	11	492 R
AUDUBON	2,592	1,710	198	4	882 R
BENTON	5,016	3,944	602	73	1,072 R
BLACK HAWK	25,594	21,097	2,621	242	4,497 R
BOONE	5,260	5,219	562	55	41 R
BREMER	5,604	2,481	423	15	3,123 R
BUCHANAN	4,541	3,670	454	9	871 R
BUENA VISTA	5,599	3,051	386	14	2,548 R
BUTLER	4,651	1,673	252	13	2,978 R
CALHOUN	3,715	2,361	335	47	1,354 R
CARROLL	3,927	4,809	412	54	882 D
CASS	5,223	2,136	369	33	3,087 R
CEDAR	4,494	2,675	438	7	1,819 R
CERRO GORDO	10,661	8,554	1,036	59	2,107 R
CHEROKEE	4,436	2,705	340	15	1,731 R
CHICKASAW	3,510	2,966	286	2	544 R
CLARKE	2,059	1,655	286		404 R
CLAY	4,325	2,840	369	94	1,485 R
CLAYTON	5,132	3,168	541	37	1,964 R
CLINTON	11,513	9,515	1,059	88	1,998 R
CRAWFORD	4,237	2,851	539	67	1,436 R
DALLAS	5,549	5,062	640	36	487 R
DAVIS	2,016	1,904	355	3	112 R
DECATUR	2,261	2,057	262	8	204 R
DELAWARE	4,650	2,760	412	7	1,890 R
[illegible]S MOINES	8,452	10,164	1,318	45	1,712 D
[illegible]KINSON	3,472	2,286	281	112	1,186 R
DUBUQUE	14,197	18,664	1,701	301	4,467 D
EMMET	3,444	2,163	230	10	1,281 R
FAYETTE	6,935	4,098	636	18	2,837 R
FLOYD	4,792	2,971	390	25	1,821 R
FRANKLIN	3,604	1,777	240	56	1,827 R
FREMONT	2,385	1,484	396	5	901 R
GREENE	3,208	2,208	269	51	1,000 R
GRUNDY	4,866	1,675	290	9	3,191 R
GUTHRIE	3,346	2,063	335	7	1,283 R
HAMILTON	4,607	3,058	301	35	1,549 R
HANCOCK	3,544	2,131	249	25	1,413 R
HARDIN	5,308	3,227	407	192	2,081 R
HARRISON	3,867	2,410	540	8	1,457 R
HENRY	4,613	2,532	503	11	2,081 R
HOWARD	3,141	2,420	253	13	721 R
HUMBOLDT	3,239	1,940	217	14	1,299 R
IDA	2,753	1,463	208	1	1,290 R
IOWA	4,133	2,586	367	25	1,547 R
JACKSON	4,535	3,413	489	116	1,122 R
JASPER	7,901	6,556	742	56	1,345 R
JEFFERSON	4,130	2,411	377	21	1,719 R
JOHNSON	11,384	13,541	736	283	2,157 D
JONES	4,513	3,415	475	9	1,098 R
KEOKUK	3,588	2,807	332	10	781 R
KOSSUTH	5,350	4,392	310	37	958 R
LEE	8,883	8,076	1,052	25	807 R
LINN	30,918	29,898	3,182	432	1,020 R
LOUISA	2,529	1,632	323		897 R
LUCAS	2,543	1,942	290	7	601 R
LYON	4,195	1,403	151	5	2,792 R

IOWA

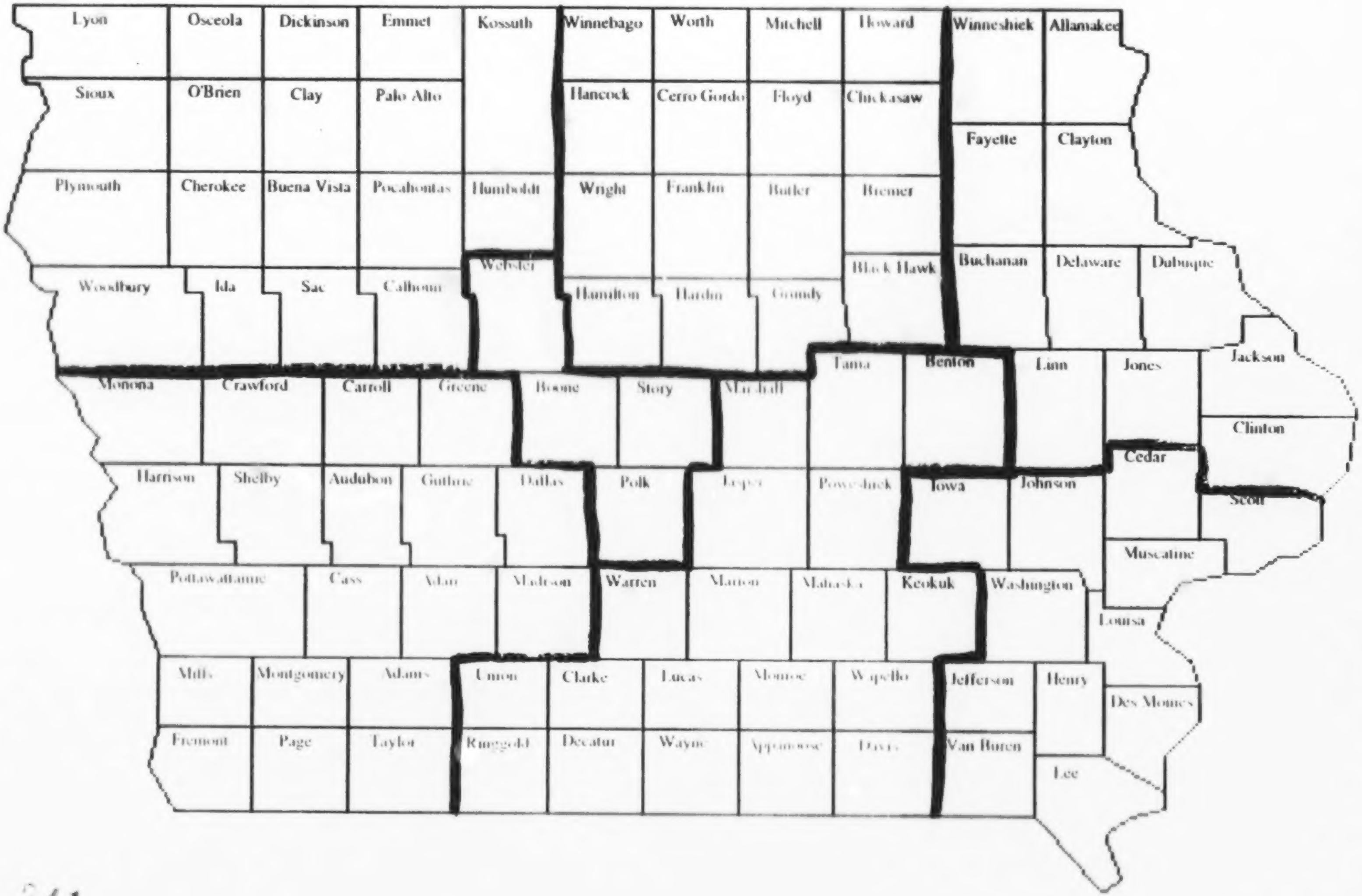
PRESIDENT 1968

County	Republican	Democratic	AIP	Other	Plurality
MADISON	3,151	2,192	327	9	959 R
MAHASKA	5,670	3,721	42[illegible]	159	1,949 R
MARION	5,791	4,618	597	56	1,173 R
MARSHALL	9,402	6,362	519	103	3,040 R
MILLS	2,916	1,216	532	8	1,700 R
MITCHELL	3,533	2,103	192	2	1,430 R
MONONA	2,980	2,184	437	9	796 R
MONROE	2,143	2,240	312	10	97 D
MONTGOMERY	4,155	1,892	425	9	2,263 R
MUSCATINE	7,361	4,726	643	144	2,635 R
OBRIEN	5,594	2,146	322	6	3,448 R
OSCEOLA	2,516	1,420	164	2	1,096 R
PAGE	5,907	2,128	634	10	3,779 R
PALO ALTO	3,114	2,874	234	1	240 R
PLYMOUTH	6,236	3,234	557	10	3,002 R
POCAHONTAS	2,940	2,364	254	36	576 R
POLK	52,314	52,731	9,524	715	417 D
POTTAWATTAMIE	13,038	9,495	2,756	108	3,543 R
POWESHIEK	4,470	3,250	367	25	1,220 R
RINGGOLD	1,986	1,237	256	2	749 R
SAC	4,182	2,207	250	7	1,975 R
SCOTT	25,783	24,596	4,135	506	1,187 R
SHELBY	3,886	2,365	330	45	1,521 R
SIOUX	10,010	2,181	315	1	7,829 R
STORY	13,327	9,456	772	120	3,871 R
TAMA	4,955	3,767	494	37	1,188 R
TAYLOR	2,765	1,501	300	2	1,264 R
UNION	3,365	2,137	374	22	1,228 R
VAN BUREN	2,294	1,331	237	7	963 R
WAPELLO	7,825	9,375	1,355	92	1,550 D
WARREN	5,619	4,613	719	20	1,006 R
WASHINGTON	4,899	2,679	349	16	2,220 R
WAYNE	2,553	1,723	233	14	830 R
WEBSTER	9,349	8,572	1,026	150	777 R
WINNEBAGO	3,543	2,163	246	2	1,380 R
WINNESHIEK	5,600	3,364	344	11	2,236 R
WOODBURY	21,159	18,281	2,153	213	2,878 R
WORTH	2,323	1,815	214	8	508 R
WRIGHT	4,299	2,969	248	33	1,330 R
TOTAL	619,106	476,699	66,422	5,704	142,407 R

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

IOWA

(CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS - 1968)


Lyon
Osceola
Dickinson
Emmet
Kossuth
Winnebago
Worth
Mitchell
Howard
Winneshiek
Allamakee
Sioux
O'Brien
Clay
Palo Alto
Hancock
Cerro Gordo
Floyd
Chickasaw
Fayette
Clayton
Plymouth
Cherokee
Buena Vista
Pocahontas
Humboldt
Wright
Franklin
Butler
Bremer
Webster
Black Hawk
Buchanan
Delaware
Dubuque
Woodbury
Ida
Sac
Calhoun
Hamilton
Hardin
Grundy
Jackson
Monona
Crawford
Carroll
Greene
Boone
Story
Marshall
Tama
Benton
Linn
Jones
Clinton
Cedar
Harrison
Shelby
Audubon
Guthrie
Dallas
Polk
Jasper
Poweshiek
Iowa
Johnson
Scott
Muscatine
Pottawattamie
Cass
Adair
Madison
Warren
Marion
Mahaska
Keokuk
Washington
Louisa
Mills
Montgomery
Adams
Union
Clarke
Lucas
Monroe
Wapello
Jefferson
Henry
Des Moines
Fremont
Page
Taylor
Ringgold
Decatur
Wayne
Appanoose
Davis
Van Buren
Lee

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1960 Presidential Election Results

State (Elec.)	Rep.	Dem.	Rep %	Dem %	Ind. %	Rep. CD	Dem CD	Ind. CD
Alabama (11)	236,110	318,303	42.1	56.8		1	8	0
Alaska (3)	30,953	29,809	50.9	49.1		1	0	0
Arizona (4)	221,241	176,781	55.5	44.4		2	0	0
Arkansas (8)	184,508	215,049	43.1	50.2	6.8	1	5	0
California (32)	3,259,722	3,224,099	50.1	49.6		17	13	0
Colorado (6)	402,242	330,629	54.6	44.9		3	1	0
Connecticut (8)	565,813	657,055	46.3	53.7		1	5	0
Delaware (3)	96,373	99,590	49.0	50.6		0	1	0
Florida (10)	795,476	748,700	51.5	48.5		4	4	0
Georgia (12)	274,472	458,638	37.4	62.5		0	10	0
Hawaii (3)	92,295	92,410	50.0	50.0		0	1	0
Idaho (4)	161,597	138,853	53.8	46.2		1	1	0
Illinois (27)	2,368,988	2,377,846	49.8	50.0		15	10	0
Indiana (13)	1,175,120	952,358	55.0	44.6		10	1	0
Iowa (10)	722,381	550,565	56.7	43.2		8	0	0
Kansas (8)	561,474	363,213	60.5	39.1		6	0	0
Kentucky (10)	602,607	521,855	53.6	46.4		6	2	0
Louisiana (10)	230,980	407,339	28.6	50.4	21.0	2	6	0
Maine (5)	240,608	181,159	57.1	43.0		3	0	0
Maryland (9)	489,538	565,808	46.4	53.6		3	4	0
Massachusetts (16)	976,750	1,487,174	39.6	60.2		0	14	0
Michigan (20)	1,620,428	1,687,269	48.8	50.9		10	8	0
Minnesota (11)	757,915	779,933	49.2	50.6		4	5	0
Mississippi (8)	73,561	108,362	24.7	36.3	39.0	0	3	3
Missouri (13)	962,218	972,201	49.7	50.3		7	4	0
Montana (4)	141,841	134,891	51.1	48.6		1	1	0
Nebraska (6)	380,553	232,542	62.1	37.9		4	0	0
Nevada (3)	52,387	54,880	48.8	51.2		0	1	0

1960 Presidential Election Results

State (Elec.)	Rep.	Dem.	Rep %	Dem %	Ind. %	Rep. CD	Dem CD	Ind. CD
New Hampshire (4)	157,989	137,772	53.4	46.6		2	0	0
New Jersey (16)	1,363,324	1,385,415	49.2	50.0		6	8	0
New Mexico (4)	153,733	156,027	49.4	50.2		0	2	0
New York (45)	3,446,419	3,830,085	47.3	52.5		20	23	0
North Carolina (14)	655,420	713,136	47.9	52.1		7	5	0
North Dakota (4)	154,310	123,963	55.4	44.5		2	0	0
Ohio (25)	2,217,611	1,944,248	53.3	46.7		18	5	0
Oklahoma (8)	533,039	370,111	59.0	41.0		5	1	0
Oregon (6)	408,065	367,402	52.6	47.3		4	0	0
Pennsylvania (32)	2,439,956	2,556,282	48.7	51.1		15	15	0
Rhode Island (4)	147,502	258,032	36.4	63.6		0	2	0
South Carolina (8)	188,558	198,121	48.8	51.2		2	4	0
South Dakota (4)	178,417	128,070	58.2	41.8		2	0	0
Tennessee (11)	556,577	481,453	52.9	45.8		5	4	0
Texas (24)	1,121,693	1,167,935	48.5	50.5		7	15	0
Utah (4)	205,361	169,248	54.8	45.2		2	0	0
Vermont (3)	98,131	69,186	58.7	41.4		1	0	0
Virginia (12)	404,521	362,327	52.4	47.0		7	3	0
Washington (9)	629,273	599,298	50.7	48.3		3	4	0
West Virginia (8)	395,995	441,786	47.3	52.7		2	4	0
Wisconsin (12)	895,175	830,805	51.8	48.1		7	3	0
Wyoming (3)	77,451	63,331	55.0	45.0		1	0	0

PRESIDENT 1960

County	Republican	Democratic	Other	Rep-Dem Plurality	
ADAIR	3,383	2,245	2	1,138	R
ADAMS	2,185	1,643		542	R
ALLAMAKEE	4,970	2,933	13	2,037	R
APPANOOSE	5,040	3,422	18	1,618	R
AUDUBON	2,955	2,595	2	360	R
BENTON	5,972	4,620	9	1,352	R
BLACK HAWK	28,435	24,078	38	4,357	R
BOONE	6,761	5,759	7	1,002	R
BREMER	6,564	3,294	4	3,270	R
BUCHANAN	5,179	4,251	3	928	R
BUENA VISTA	6,351	3,637	8	2,714	R
BUTLER	5,345	2,268	3	3,077	R
CALHOUN	4,485	3,123	7	1,362	R
CARROLL	4,648	7,064	4	2,416	D
CASS	6,290	3,059	4	3,231	R
CEDAR	5,217	3,203	5	2,014	R
CERRO GORDO	12,830	10,044	15	2,786	R
CHEROKEE	4,791	3,309	5	1,482	R
CHICKASAW	3,822	4,063	4	241	D
CLARKE	2,631	1,906	13	725	R
CLAY	5,165	3,437	2	1,728	R
CLAYTON	5,441	4,012	4	1,429	R
CLINTON	13,797	10,508	25	3,289	R
CRAWFORD	4,791	3,720	7	1,071	R
DALLAS	5,966	5,597	13	369	R
DAVIS	2,641	2,503	5	138	R
DECATUR	3,039	2,411	7	628	R
DELAWARE	5,015	3,688		1,327	R
DES MOINES	10,678	9,872	41	806	R
DICKINSON	3,375	2,696	2	679	R
DUBUQUE	12,740	22,007	19	9,267	D
EMMET	4,284	2,563	6	1,721	R
FAYETTE	8,330	5,256	25	3,074	R
FLOYD	5,774	3,970	2	1,804	R
FRANKLIN	4,514	2,476	6	2,038	R
FREMONT	3,027	2,307	2	720	R
GREENE	4,063	2,879	12	1,184	R
GRUNDY	4,989	2,174	3	2,815	R
GUTHRIE	4,046	2,896	7	1,150	R
HAMILTON	5,265	3,905	4	1,360	R
HANCOCK	4,179	2,757	1	1,422	R
HARDIN	6,438	3,888	4	2,550	R
HARRISON	4,940	3,613	9	1,327	R
HENRY	5,531	2,839	7	2,692	R
HOWARD	3,378	3,406		28	D
HUMBOLDT	3,537	2,706		831	R
IDA	3,290	1,949	2	1,341	R
IOWA	4,944	2,828	18	2,116	R
JACKSON	5,084	4,345	5	739	R
JASPER	9,332	7,242	11	2,090	R
JEFFERSON	4,942	2,780		2,162	R
JOHNSON	10,927	10,563	18	364	R
JONES	5,541	3,924	4	1,617	R
KEOKUK	4,697	3,408	10	1,289	R
KOSSUTH	6,278	5,806		472	R
LEE	10,765	9,936		829	R
LINN	34,200	27,614	25	6,586	R
LOUISA	3,036	1,966	2	1,070	R
LUCAS	3,512	2,344	9	1,168	R
LYON	4,917	1,752	7	3,165	R

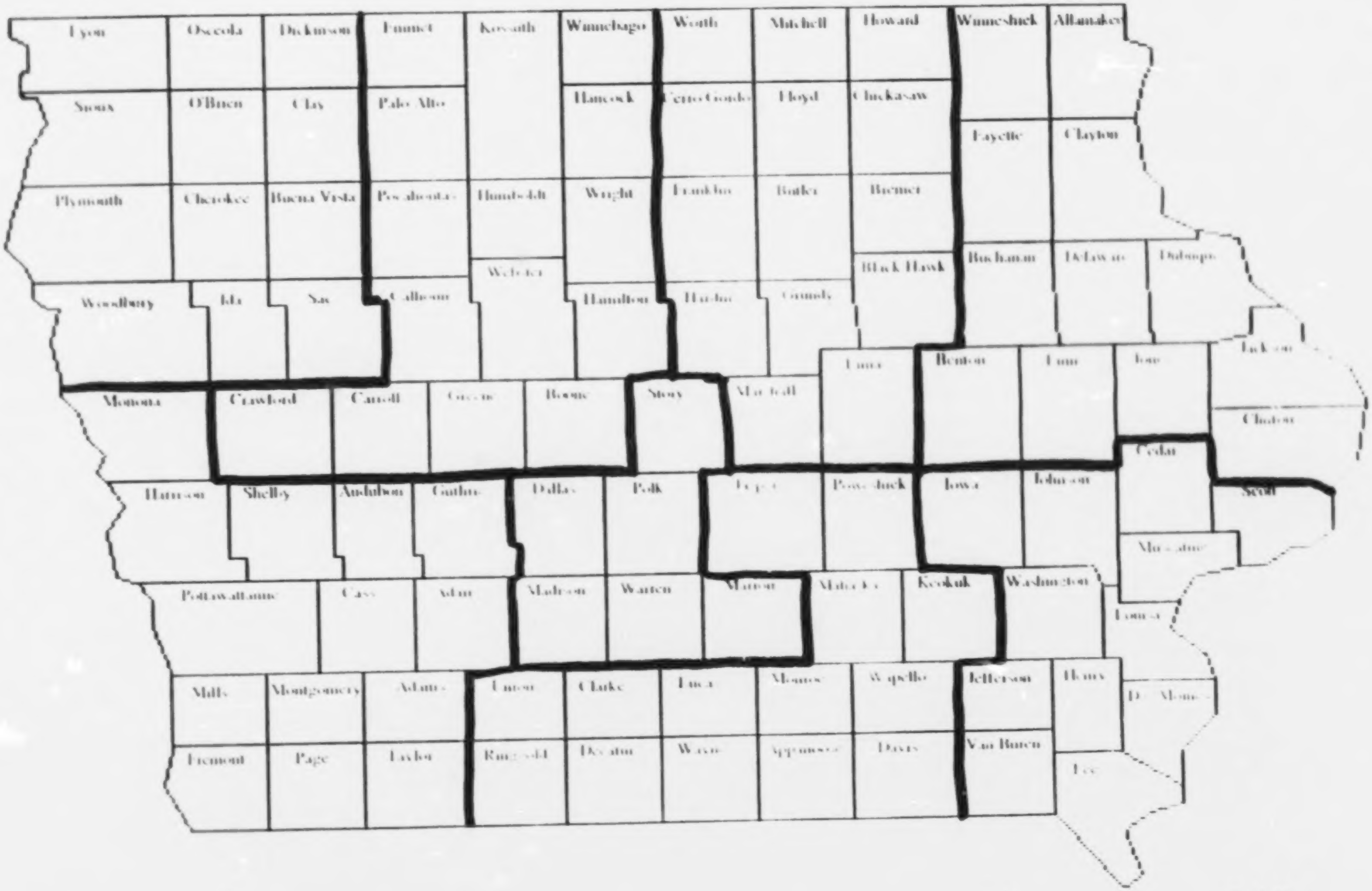
PRESIDENT 1960

County	Republican	Democratic	Other	Rep-Dem Plurality	
MADISON	3,804	2,722	3	1,082	R
MAHASKA	7,129	3,746	26	3,383	R
MARION	7,444	4,547	17	2,897	R
MARSHALL	10,265	6,761	16	3,504	R
MILLS	3,436	1,820		1,616	R
MITCHELL	3,915	2,873	10	1,042	R
MONONA	3,863	3,207		656	R
MONROE	2,922	2,459	10	463	R
MONTGOMERY	4,974	2,655	1	2,319	R
MUSCATINE	8,555	6,135	8	2,420	R
O BRIEN	6,509	2,967	4	3,542	R
OSCEOLA	2,965	1,814	3	1,151	R
PAGE	7,089	3,075	8	4,014	R
PALO ALTO	3,551	3,407	4	144	R
PLYMOUTH	6,432	4,671		1,761	R
POCAHONTAS	3,465	3,418	4	47	R
POLK	64,077	55,091	56	8,986	R
POTTAWATTAMIE	19,223	14,025	13	5,198	R
POWESHIEK	5,232	3,671	1	1,561	R
RINGGOLD	2,538	1,781	2	757	R
SAC	4,850	3,054		1,796	R
SCOTT	27,617	23,304	50	4,313	R
SHELBY	4,210	3,427	7	783	R
SIOUX	10,294	2,663	7	7,631	R
STORY	13,708	7,281	15	6,427	R
TAMA	5,535	4,950	1	585	R
TAYLOR	3,452	2,126	3	1,326	R
UNION	4,417	2,720	4	1,697	R
VAN BUREN	3,129	1,760	5	1,369	R
WAPELLO	11,036	11,116	15	80	D
WARREN	6,013	4,136		1,877	R
WASHINGTON	5,861	3,222	6	2,639	R
WAYNE	3,401	2,307	7	1,094	R
WEBSTER	10,761	10,680	16	81	R
WINNEBAGO	4,082	2,463	4	1,619	R
WINNESHIEK	5,237	4,786	7	451	R
WOODBURY	25,832	21,606	5	4,226	R
WORTH	2,740	2,303	5	437	R
WRIGHT	5,386	4,159	15	1,227	R
TOTAL	722,381	550,565	864	171,816	R

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

IOWA

(CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS — 1960)


Lyon
Osceola
Dickinson
Emmet
Kossuth
Winnebago
Worth
Mitchell
Howard
Winneshiek
Allamakee
Sioux
O'Brien
Clay
Palo Alto
Hancock
Cerro Gordo
Floyd
Chickasaw
Fayette
Clayton
Plymouth
Cherokee
Buena Vista
Pocahontas
Humboldt
Wright
Franklin
Butler
Bremer
Black Hawk
Buchanan
Delaware
Dubuque
Webster
Woodbury
Ida
Sac
Calhoun
Hamilton
Hardin
Grundy
Tama
Benton
Linn
Jones
Jackson
Monona
Crawford
Carroll
Greene
Boone
Story
Marshall
Clinton
Cedar
Harrison
Shelby
Audubon
Guthrie
Dallas
Polk
Jasper
Poweshiek
Iowa
Johnson
Scott
Muscatine
Pottawattamie
Cass
Adair
Madison
Warren
Marion
Mahaska
Keokuk
Washington
Louisa
Mills
Montgomery
Adams
Union
Clarke
Lucas
Monroe
Wapello
Jefferson
Henry
Des Moines
Fremont
Page
Taylor
Ringgold
Decatur
Wayne
Appanoose
Davis
Van Buren
Lee

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CAMPAIGN & ELECTION REFORM

Electronic Democracy: New Technologies and the Political Process

Introduction:

In this activity students work in small research groups to analyze emerging technologies as they may effect the political process. Students will investigate electronic mail, civic computer networks, dial opinion polling technology, televoting, electronic town meetings, and television of the future. Analysis and evaluation will be made with regard to 9 basic civic concepts to determine the positive and negative impact of each technology on democracy and democratic processes in our society. As a culminating activity its purpose is to inspire students to think about how the political process might operate in the future.

Procedures:

1. *Introduce Idea of Technology and its impact on Democratic Institutions.* As a whole class, ask students for ideas on how the following technologies have influenced political campaigns: *Newspapers, Airplanes, Television.* Teacher lists responses under appropriate headings on chalkboard. Once a fairly comprehensive list is generated for each technology, ask students for their opinions as to whether each effect is positive or negative. Why?

2. *Overview of Lesson.* Mention that there are a number of new technologies which will have an impact on our political processes. This activity will have students analyze the potential effects of such innovations. During the 1992 Presidential campaign a number of these technologies were used for the first time. Very little attention has been given to the effects that these innovations will have on the political process. In general, proponents of "electronic democracy" point to the increased access that citizens will have to information and to politicians and policy makers. This citizen oversight is essential in a democracy. Critics of the use of new technologies agree that speed will be a factor. But they caution that just because decisions are made faster, that doesn't ensure a good decision. Reflection, deliberation, and sound judgment must remain factors in democracy. These are all threatened by speed.

3. *Introduce Conceptual Framework* as a way to analyze technologies. The questions on the worksheet are not comprehensive. There may be additional points that students wish to discuss. The questions should be looked upon as a guide for discussion about the relative merits of each technology and its impact on the political campaign process.

4. *Guided Practice.* As a whole class, analyze Television using the framework questions. Step through each question and lead a comprehensive discussion of this technology. Model the process you would like the individual groups of students to follow in their discussions of new technologies.

5. *Assign Research Group Projects.* Divide students into 6 research groups. Assign each group a different technology to examine and analyze.

6. *Research Group Analysis.* Allow time for each group to read the description and discuss the basics of how that technology might operate. Encourage groups to use the conceptual framework questions as a guide to lead their discussion and analysis of the technology.

7. *Presentation Preparation.* Each group should make a chart indicating both the positive (+) and the negative (-) impact that the technology may have on the political process. Each group should be prepared to present a brief overview of the technology and their findings to the remainder of the class.

8. *Research Group Presentations.* Each group presents an overview of the technology studied, describing how the technology might operate, the potential effects of such technology on the political process (+/-), their overall analysis of the technology, and be open to questions and discussion from their classmates.

9. *Debrief:* After all groups have presented their analyses, lead a whole class discussion of the nature of these technologies. Were there any similarities in the analysis of the technologies? Overall, what were the positive and negative effects of these technologies on the political process? Assuming all of the described technologies are in place by the next election, which would have the greatest impact? Why?

FOLLOW-UP:

- If time allows, have groups conduct further research on the technologies assigned.
- Encourage students to research other technologies which may have an impact on the political system.
- Are any of the described technologies currently being used in your community? If so, invite a resource person to the classroom to provide additional information, or arrange for a demonstration.
- If possible, have students organize and conduct an ETM in your community focusing on a specific problem and featuring local policy makers and political leaders.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Technology & Democracy

In the 1950's new technologies began to radically alter the way Americans conducted politics. Television offered candidates the opportunity to directly confront voters on a mass scale. Political advertisements and televised debates provided most voters literally their first glimpse of the candidate. As a result of television, candidate appearance became much more important (an unintended and perhaps negative effect). Television also reduced the influence of party bosses and "smoke-filled rooms", opening the nomination process up directly to voting citizens (something most people see as a positive effect). Campaigning for national political office in the late 1980's and 1990's has become almost exclusively a televised affair. Rallies, speeches, campaign stops, and even policy positions are almost wholly dictated by tele-media considerations. For example, a candidate makes sure that s/he has the proper backdrop for good television; that the speech includes a few good "soundbites" - suitable for the typical 10 second report on the nightly news; and that the appearance is made early enough in the day so that television producers have enough time to get the piece on the news broadcast.

Similarly, convenient and widespread use of air travel has allowed candidates to visit remote locations and to make a series of visits in a short period of time. In the past, a candidate's schedule was determined by the cities or states that could be reached in a short drive or train trip. Air travel now allows candidates more frequent visits and in a more random pattern. Modern air planes have made airports the "whistlestops" of the late 20th century. A candidate will typically fly in to a major airport for a scheduled rally and photo opportunity never leaving the airport, and depart an hour later to a similar event hundreds or thousands of miles away. In the 1992 Presidential election, Democratic nominee Bill Clinton staged a marathon finale to his campaign. In a 28 hour period, Clinton visited more than a dozen cities in key states all over the continent. This type of campaign could not have been possible even 30 years before.

The influence that television and aviation technologies have had on U.S. politics is not unprecedented. Each new innovation in communication and transportation has influenced the way Americans engage in political discussions. The advent of newspapers allowed the candidate's message to get directly into voters' hands. The telegraph, and later the telephone, made the conveyance of information even quicker. With the railroad came a new style of campaigning - the Whistlestop. Prior to this time, very few candidates "ran" for office. Rather, most were "drafted" and conducted their campaign via local organizations while they themselves made very few public appearances. Trains increased voter participation, for citizens could act not only on what others said about a candidate, but on what they heard and observed of the candidate in person. The radio put the candidate into Americans' living rooms for the first time. The direct relationship that Franklin Roosevelt had with Americans clearly was a benefit to the political process. However, this same technology contributed to the defeat of a candidate in 1928. The Democratic nominee Governor Al Smith of New York had a weak, high-pitched voice which was not suited to radio. Herbert Hoover won the presidency that year (and may have without the aid of radio), but media considerations played a role in the selection of candidates in 1932 and subsequent years.

Keeping this history in mind, it is almost certain that emerging electronic technologies will have a similarly profound impact on our political processes. New technologies bring with them new opportunities for people in our society. As we've seen in the case of television, along with the benefits there may be some serious drawbacks. We must equip students with the skills to view new technology with a critical eye; to assess the positive and negative influences and to take steps to minimize any damage. Technology itself is neither good nor bad. Its power comes from how it is used. Informed, analytical citizens hopefully will make informed and analytical choices.

Each of the new electronic technologies described in the student materials have the potential to increase civic participation by making it easier to vote, to attend meetings, to talk with policy makers, and to express opinions. Each of the new technologies also have the potential to improve access to government information and services and to make politicians and policy makers more attentive and more accountable to their constituents. Each of the new technologies increases the speed at which political communication may occur. It's this last point that causes many to dread the future of American politics.

Speed of judgment does not guarantee astuteness. The unconsidered opinions of the many certainly are no better than the unconsidered opinions of the few. If new technologies merely increase the number of talk shows or call in programs that clutter the airways now then the opportunities for greater real involvement will have been lost. Critics have likened these forms of electronic populism to political noise machines. They take a skewed sample of the instantaneous opinions of the moment, amplifies and reamplifies and packages it as the authentic voice of mainstream America. Missing from these formats are any consideration of equality of access, diversity of viewpoints, or just treatment of opinions. Tom Dworetzky cautions that the one thing that all this instant communication and feedback won't do is make the all-important ingredients for good government - reflection and judgment - more plentiful. Technology, he continues, will only make democracy function faster - not better.

In the future, a growing portion of human interaction will take place electronically in cyberspace. The advantages to democracy of this technology are clear - greater access, greater voice, more input, greater speed. But none of these technological innovations ensures democratic advantages. If reflection is forsaken for speed; if instant access and electronic polling represents the end of deliberative choice; if greater access to information merely results in information overload then technology may hasten the end of democracy. On the other hand, democratic revolutions around the world have been aided by the use of electronic technology. Without television, many people would never have been exposed to all the things that a democratic society has to offer - not just consumer products, but the free and open exchange of political ideas. Without fax machines and electronic mail capabilities, the world may never have known of the brutal crackdown against the democratic insurgents in China. Without satellite networking capabilities, many messages of freedom and democracy would not reach the people who long to hear them most.

Consider Future Technology

Below are 9 basic concepts that should be considered in relation to new technologies and their effects on the American political system. Use the following questions as guides for your analysis of the technologies. As a group discuss the basis for your conclusions. Consider both the positive (+) and negative (-) aspects of these technologies on our current system of politics. Be prepared to describe the new technologies and your findings with the rest of the class. ***(T = new technology under consideration)***

Authority

- Does T assist citizens to make decisions as to who should hold positions of authority?
- Does T allow candidates a better chance to display traits which voters might look for?

Diversity

- Does T encourage or discourage diversity of candidate viewpoints?
- Are candidates more aware of the diverse viewpoints of citizens?

Equality

- Does T allow equal access, equal info, and equal participation?
- Are all citizens' concerns addressed in an equitable manner?

Justice

- Does T create a system that is fair to citizens?
- Does T create a system that is fair to candidates?

Liberty

- Does T protect basic liberties (free expression, free assembly, privacy, etc.)?

Participation

- As a result of T, are more people involved in the political process?
- What is the quality of participation? (Does T allow for thought and analysis?)

Privacy

- Does T ensure greater privacy or does it violate privacy in any way?

Promise Making/Keeping

- As a result of T, are candidates more accountable for the promises they make?
- Will T result in additional promises that must be kept?

Responsibility

- Does T give citizens more/less responsibility?
- As a result of T are politicians likely to be more responsive to citizens?

Other

- Are there other consequences (intended or unintended) that should be considered?
- Overall, what are the positive (+) influences of T?
- Overall, what are the negative (-) influences of T?

Federal Soap Box (e-mail)

A network which allows citizens to communicate directly with politicians and policy makers via personal computer. Currently, computer network users can send e-mail to the White House on a variety of systems (CompuServe, America Online, Prodigy, Internet). The White House receives about 800 e-mail messages per day, covering a wide range of issues and opinions. Right now the White House prints out a copy of messages and handles them as it does its normal mail. Soon, the White House will have the capability to send return e-mail messages. Computer experts are working on a system that will be able to transfer messages dealing with specific topics to the appropriate governmental agency. For example, an e-mail message commenting on public housing will be forwarded to the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), a request for information on policy regarding the Middle East will be directed to the State Department, and a tip regarding a violation of environmental standards will be taken by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The Clinton Administration has appointed a Director of Public Access, e-mail, and Electronic Publishing, a new post in the White House Office of Communications, to direct this project. The Director has stated that this "federal soapbox" is a high priority since it more directly connects the government with the people. Just as telephone calls to the White House are considered a fundamental part of American democracy, the White House hopes that computer messages will someday be just as common.

Civic Networks

A number of computer systems and electronic "bulletin boards" now allow computer users to tap into sources of information directly without the influence of the news media, campaign "spin doctors", or political analysts. Users of these networks can obtain government documents and other information direct from the sources. These civic networks let people be producers and shapers of information, not mere consumers of what is broadcast. For example, rather than listen to a 10 second "soundbite" on the evening news, a person could directly access an actual speech and other policy materials about the topic in question. If a statement is made regarding statistical information, an individual could access government and other documents to check the facts. During the 1992 presidential election, campaign staffs distributed copies of speeches, press releases, policy papers, schedules of appearances, and other information directly to computer users via civic networks. The civic networks are not just a one-way street. They also allow citizens to talk to each other. By leaving messages on computer bulletin boards or by direct conferencing link ups, people can carry on a dialogue about politics, policy, and other issues affecting their lives.

Dial Opinion Polling

The latest in public opinion research, this technology provides a second-by-second computerized readout of public reaction to a statement or event. First used during the 1988 presidential primaries, dial opinion polling was applied to a debate among Democratic party candidates. Superimposed on a television screen were graphs, bar charts and number grids giving the continuous reactions of 85 viewers who watched the event with electronic response dials in their laps. When one of the candidates made a lame joke, the lines dipped down in negative reaction. When someone verbally jabbed at the host, the numbers jumped. And when Senator Paul Simon of Illinois looked into the camera and attacked the idea of lowering tax rates for the rich, the audience approval boosted the graphs to record heights. Simon was impressed as he watched a tape of the dial polling. "You get a feel for what people respond to and what they don't respond to." In the 1992 presidential campaign this opinion polling technology became standard for use with "focus groups" of voters. Using this technology, candidates are able to hone their message to say exactly what will attract the greatest number of voters.

TeleVote

To increase participation in elections at all levels (Federal, State, and Local), a new technology has been devised and tested that will allow citizens to vote at home via telephone or personal computer. Absentee voting, low voter turnout due to inclement weather, and voter complaints about long lines at polling places could be things of the past if the notion of "televoting" wins favor. Of course in order to gain acceptance an accurate, reliable, and secure form of electronic registration and voting must be perfected. Several experiments have registered phone voters with great success, but it was not until 1992 that an actual election was conducted via televoting. During its party convention in Halifax, Nova Scotia, the Liberal Party of Canada allowed every registered member to get a Personal Identification Number (PIN) to vote by phone for party leader. Voters dialed a toll-free number on a touch-tone phone, entered their PIN, and cast their ballot based on spoken instructions. The state of New Mexico experimented later in 1992 with a similar system and intends to permit absentee voters to elect office holders by telephone during the 1994 state elections. The 1992 experiment allowed televoters to make their choice for president via their phones over a two-day period. The high school students who were the subjects in this experiment reported no trouble in understanding the instructions and no difficulties in using the phone-in voting system.

Electronic Town Meetings (ETM)

New innovations in interactive video teleconferencing capabilities with fiber optics allow people from a number of distant locations to talk with one another. In terms of policy and politics, this new technology can be used to conduct electronic town meetings (ETM). There are a variety of ETM formats that have been used successfully without advanced technology. These usually involve a televised program, debate, or meeting in which viewers at home have the capability of phoning in questions, comments, or reaction to the topics discussed. The new technology allows all parties to see and hear one another as if all of the participants were in the same room. Statewide ETMs have taken place in Alaska and Oregon where either all citizens or a randomly selected group of constituents were involved in making governmental policy. In Alaska, more than 100,000 people from remote areas of the state met to determine how they wanted to spend transportation funds. In Oregon, the Governor convened 500 simultaneous ETMs with a total of 10,000 randomly selected citizens to talk about State policies. During the 1992 presidential primaries, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton regularly conducted ETMs to discuss his proposals and to talk directly with voters and hear their concerns. During the campaign, Independent candidate Ross Perot advocated the use of ETMs to regularly gauge the feelings and opinions of citizens.

TV of the Future

The incredible advances in video technology, fiber optics, and signal compression will soon increase our television channel capacity There are two basic scenarios of how television broadcasting of the future might look. The first involves the traditional notion of "channels". Instead of the current 30-50 channels available on cable, consumers would have more than 500 options. This would allow for specialty networks - everything from current movies and live sports programming to video catalogs (LL Bean, Sears, etc) and selective music video programs (Individual channels for rap, country, hard rock, etc.). It is very likely under this scenario that major political parties might create their own networks during election campaigns providing a constant source of information. The other scenario eliminates the notion of pre-selected "channels" all together. Instead, consumers would be able to select programs from a main menu and create their own viewing schedules. Production companies and networks would continue to provide programs. Typically a show would "premiere" on a particular day and time but would then be available for individualized programming. So if you can't watch Saturday Night Live on Saturday night, you might select that program for viewing any time after its premiere. Public interest shows, political debates, and policy discussions would be made available on a continual basis.